



*H. Gravdot inv. Sculp.*

## *The DEATH of SOPHONISBA*

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THE  
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE  
FOUNDATION of R O M E

TO THE  
BATTLE of A C T I U M:

THAT IS,

To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

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*fies*

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 BOOK THE EIGHTEENTH.
 

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 THE  
 ROMAN HISTORY.

**T**HIS book contains only the history of three years, 542, 543, and 544. It relates principally the several battles of Marcellus with Hannibal ; the taking of Tarentum by Fabius Maximus ; Scipio's advantages in Spain ; the death of Marcellus ; Asdrubal's march into Italy, and the entire defeat of that General by the two Consuls Livius and Nero.

## S E C T. I.

*Marcellus takes some cities in Samnium. Fulvius is defeated and killed in a battle with Hannibal near Herdonea. Battles between Marcellus and Hannibal without any thing decisive. Conspiracy of the Campanians discovered. The citadel of Tarentum supplied with provisions. Ambassadors from Syphax to the Romans, and from the Romans to Syphax. Embassy to the King of Egypt. The Roman fleet ravages Africa. Disputes concerning a Dictator. New dispute between the Dictator and the Tribunes. Lælius arrives at Rome. Distribution of the provinces. Valerius Flaccus, elected priest of Jupiter, amends his life, and re-establishes a privilege attached to his office. Complaints*

VOL. VI. B plaints



*plaints and murmurs of the Roman colonies. Twelve of them refuse to furnish their contingents. The Consuls warmly reproach them. The other eighteen colonies do their duty with alacrity. Gold taken out of the privy-treasury for the pressing occasions of the State. Censors created. They exercise their office with due severity.*

A. R. 542.  
Ant. C. 210.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, IV.

M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, II.

*Marcellus takes some cities of Samnium. Liv. xxvii. 1.*

THE affairs of Spain have for some time made us lose sight of those of Italy. The Consul Marcellus having made himself master of Salapia by intelligence in the place, as we have said, took Maronea and Meles by force. He defeated in them about three thousand men, whom Hannibal had left as garrisons, and gave the whole plunder to his soldiers, which was considerable. He also found in them two hundred and forty thousand bushels of wheat, and one hundred and ten thousand of barley.

*Fulvius is beaten and killed in a battle by Hannibal near Herdonea. Liv. ibid.*

These advantages did not give him so much joy, as he felt grief for the loss the Commonwealth sustained some days afterwards near the city of Herdonea, a place unfortunate to the Romans, who had been defeated there two years before by Hannibal. The Proconsul Cn. Fulvius, of the same names as the Prætor who had been beaten there in the action I have just repeated, was incamped near Herdonea, in hopes of re-taking that city, which had gone over from the Romans, after the battle of Cannæ. Hannibal, being informed that the Proconsul kept himself little upon his guard, marched towards Herdonea with so much expedition, that he was in view of the Romans, before they were informed of his march. He offered them battle, which Fulvius, full of  
audacity



audacity and good opinion of himself, made no scruple to accept. The action was warm, and victory continued long in suspense. In the heat of the engagement, Hannibal detached his cavalry, part of which fell upon the enemy's camp, and the rest attacked those who were at blows with the Carthaginians. The Romans then seeing themselves between two enemies, were put into disorder. Some betook themselves to flight; and the rest, after having made some vain efforts to defend themselves, were cut to pieces. Cn. Fulvius himself fell in the slaughter, with eleven legionary Tribunes. Seven thousand men, according to some, and thirteen thousand, according to others, perished in this action. The victor remained master of the field, and of all the spoils both of the field and camp.

Marcellus, without being much discouraged by this loss, wrote to the Senate, to inform it of the misfortune of the Proconsul and army which had perished near Herdonea. He told them, "That he was marching against Hannibal, and that he having known how, after the battle of Cannæ, to check the pride, which so compleat a victory had given him, he should also know how to damp the joy with which this new advantage might affect him." Accordingly he advanced against Hannibal, and offered him battle. The action was warm and long, and the advantage very near equal. However, Hannibal retreated in the night, and was followed by the Consul, who came up with him near Venusia. They passed several days in harassing each other by actions, wherein the Romans had almost always the advantage, but which might rather pass for slight skirmishes, than real engagements. Hannibal usually decamped in the night, and watched the occasions for ensnaring his enemy: but Marcellus was cautious

A. R. 542.  
Ant. C. 210.

*Marcellus and Hannibal har-  
rass each  
other.*

Liv. xxvii.

2.

*A. R. 542.* tious of following him only by day, and not till  
*Ant. C. 210.* he had caused the places to be carefully viewed.

*Conspi.* In the mean time Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who still  
*of 1<sup>st</sup>.* continued to command in Capua with the title of  
*pas.* Proconsul, discovered a new conspiracy carried on  
*6. 1. 1. 1. 1.* by the Campanians. Apprehending that the too  
*L. xxvii.* voluptuous abode of that city might corrupt his  
 3. troops, as it had those of Hannibal, he had made  
 them quit it, and had obliged them to build barracks  
 without the walls. Most of these barracks  
 were built with hurdles, planks, or reeds, and covered  
 with stubble, all combustible materials. An  
 hundred and seventy Campanians, at the instigation  
 of two brothers of the family of the Blossii,  
 one of the most considerable of the city, had conspired  
 to burn the whole in the space of one night.  
 The plot having been discovered by the slaves of  
 the Blossii themselves, the Proconsul immediately  
 caused the gates of the city to be shut, put the  
 soldiers under arms, seized all the accomplices,  
 and after having giving them the question with  
 abundance of rigor, they were condemned to die,  
 and executed immediately. The informers were  
 rewarded with their liberty, and had each ten  
 thousand sestertii (about twenty-five pounds sterling)  
 given him.

*The citadel* In the midst of the various successful and un-  
*of Tarentum* fortunate events, which attracted the attention of  
*re-vi-* the Romans, the citadel of Tarentum was not forgot.  
*Quailed.* M. Ogulnius and P. Aquilius were sent into  
 Etruria, to buy corn, and cause it to be carried  
 by water to Tarentum. With these provisions set  
 out a thousand soldiers, half Romans, half allies,  
 draughted out of the army that guarded the city  
 of Rome, who were to re-inforce the garrison of  
 the citadel of Tarentum.



The campaign was now almost over, and the time for the election of magistrates approached. A. R. 542. Ant. C. 210. Valerius is recalled from Sicily to preside in the assemblies. But Marcellus having wrote to the Senate, that he was actually employed in pursuing Hannibal, who fled before him, and declined fighting, and that it was of the last importance not to lose sight of him, the Senators were at a loss how to act. Liv. xxvii. For, on one side, they judged it improper to interrupt the Consul's military operations, by making him return to Rome at a time when his presence was most necessary in the army; and on the other, they were afraid that the Commonwealth would be without Consuls for the ensuing year. They believed, that the best resolution they could take, was to send for the Consul Valerius, though he was in Sicily, and had the sea to repass. Accordingly the Prætor L. Manlius wrote to him by order of the Senate, and sent him the letters of Marcellus, that he might know from them the reason the Fathers had for making him return rather than his colleague.

It was about this time, that Ambassadors came to Rome from King Syphax, with the news of the advantages gained by that Prince in the war subsisting between him and the Carthaginians. Ambassadors from Syphax at Rome. They declared, "That Carthage had not a greater enemy than Syphax, nor the Romans a better friend. That he had sent Ambassadors into Spain to the two Scipios. That he now sent to the fountain-head, to the capital of the empire, to demand the amity of the Romans." The Senate did not content themselves with making Syphax a very obliging answer; they appointed L. Genucius, P. Petelius, and P. Popilius, Ambassadors to him, who were instructed to accompany those of Syphax on their return, to carry him a robe after the Roman fashion as a present, with a purple tunic, a curule chair, and gold cup



A. R. 542.  
Art. C. 210.

cup of five pounds in weight. They had orders to take this occasion to visit the other petty Kings of Africa, and to present them in the name of the Senate with robes edged with purple, and with gold cups weighing three pounds.

*Embassy to  
the King of  
Egypt.*

M. Atilius and Manius Acilius were also made to set out for Alexandria to Ptolomy Philopator and Cleopatra, who reigned at that time. They were ordered to demand of them, that the treaty of amity and alliance, which subsisted between the Commonwealth and the Kings of Egypt should be renewed, and to present the King with a robe and tunic of purple, and a curule chair; and the Queen with an embroidered mantle, and a \* kind of purple veil.

• Amiculum.

*The Consul  
Valerius  
returns to  
Rome, and  
gives an  
account of  
the affairs  
of Sicily.  
Liv. xxvii.  
5.*

M. Valerius, conformably to his colleague's letters, and the order of the Senate, set out from Sicily with ten galleys, to repair to Rome, after having appointed the Prætor Cincius to command the province and army, and sent M. Valerius Messala, Admiral of the fleet, with the rest of it, into Africa, as well to ravage the enemy's country, as to discover the motions and designs of the Carthaginians. As to himself, as soon as he arrived at Rome, he assembled the Senate, and gave an account of what he had done in Sicily. He told them, " That after a war of near \* sixty years  
" continuance, during which they had frequently  
" sustained very considerable losses both by sea  
" and land, he had at length entirely subjected  
" that island to the power of the Roman people :  
" that there was not a single Carthaginian remain-  
" ing in it; and that all the Sicilians, whom fear  
" had banished from their country, were returned  
" to their cities and lands, where they employed  
" themselves in agriculture and husbandry. That

\* Fifty five, from the 488th year of Rome.

“ the island, which had been so long ruined by A. R. 542.  
 “ the war, was now happily re-peopled, and in Ant. C. 210.  
 “ a condition, by the re-establishment of tillage,  
 “ not only to subsist its inhabitants, but abun-  
 “ dantly to supply the Roman people with provi-  
 “ sions, both in peace and war.”

He afterwards introduced Mutines to the Senate, and others, who, like him, had deserved well of the Commonwealth. On Mutines they even conferred the freedom of Rome, in virtue of a law, which one of the Tribunes of the People proposed, with the authority of a decree of the Senate.

Whilst these things passed at Rome, M. Vale- The Roman  
 rius Messala, having arrived before day in Africa fleet ra-  
 with fifty ships, made a descent in the country of vage Afri-  
 Utica, where the inhabitants expected no such vi- ca.  
 sit; and after having ravaged it on all sides, Liv. xxvii.  
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 prisoners and a rich booty, and sailed immediate-  
 ly for Sicily, where he landed in the port of Li-  
 lybæum, having employed only thirteen days in  
 this expedition. He then interrogated his priso-  
 ners concerning the situation of Africa, in order to  
 give an account of them to the Consul. He was  
 informed by them, “ That there were five thou-  
 “ sand Numidians at Carthage, under the com-  
 “ mand of Masinissa, the son of Gala, a young  
 “ Prince of extraordinary valour, and that other  
 “ mercenary troops were raising throughout all  
 “ Africa, to be sent to Asdrubal in Spain; and  
 “ that the latter had orders to march as soon as  
 “ possible into Italy with all the troops he could  
 “ draw together, in order to join his brother  
 “ Hannibal. That the Carthaginians placed their  
 “ whole hopes in the execution of this design. And  
 “ that they were also fitting out a great fleet to re-  
 “ turn to Sicily, which was expected to sail im-  
 “ mediately.”

A. R. 542.  
A. C. 210.  
*Disputes*  
*concerning*  
*a Dictator.*

When the Consul had read Messala's letters which informed him of all these circumstances, the Senators were so much alarmed by those preparations, that they believed it necessary, that the Consul should not stay till the time of the elections, but should nominate a Dictator to preside at them, and return directly to his province. One difficulty gave them pause. The Consul declared, that when he was in Sicily, he would appoint M. Valerius Messala Dictator, who then commanded the fleet. Now the Senators affirmed, that a Dictator could be nominated only in the territories called Roman, and that those territories were included within the bounds of Italy. After many debates, the People, in concert with the Senate, decreed, that Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who then commanded at Capua, should be declared Dictator. The Consul, the night before this assembly of the People was to be held, set out secretly for Sicily. The Senate, disconcerted by his retreat, wrote to the Consul Marcellus, and desired him to assist the Commonwealth, abandoned by his colleague, and to declare the Dictator intended by the People. Marcellus created Q. Fulvius accordingly, who appointed P. Licinius Crassus, the Pontifex Maximus, General of the horse.

*New dispute between the Dictator and Tribunes.*

Liv. xxvii.  
6.

When the election of the Consuls came on, a new difficulty arose. The Youth of the century called *Galeria*, who by lot were to give their suffrages first, nominated Q. Fulvius, then actually Dictator, and Q. Fabius, Consuls; and the rest of the centuries seemed determined to confirm this choice. Two of the Tribunes opposed it, affirming, that it was contrary to order to create the person who was Dictator, Consul, and to remove him in that manner, without any interval of time from one office to another; besides which, it was no less repugnant to decency and good order, to

raise



raise the very person to the Consulship, who presided in the election of Consuls. After long disputes, the Dictator and Tribunes agreed to refer the affair to the Senate. As the thing was not without precedent, and it also seemed of great importance, that the most able and experienced Generals should be placed at the head of the armies, the Senate was of opinion, that it was necessary not to oppose the freedom of the suffrages. The Tribunes having acquiesced in these reasons, the assembly pursued their plan. Q. Fabius Maximus was elected Consul for the fifth time, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth. L. Veturius Philo, T. Quintius Crispinus, C. Hostilius Tubulo, and C. Arunculejus were afterwards created Prætors.

Towards the end of this campaign, a Carthaginian fleet, consisting of forty sail, under the command of Amilcar, arrived at Sardinia, and made a descent in the country of the Olbii. But the Prætor P. Manlius Vulso marching against the enemy, they reembarked, and steering round the island, made another descent in the territory of Caralis (*Cagliari*) on the opposite side, and returned to Africa with a considerable booty of all kinds.

About the same time, C. Lælius arrived at Rome, thirty-four days after his setting out from Tarraco. He entered the city with his prisoners, surrounded with a vast concourse of the People. They were not above fifteen or sixteen in number, but all persons of distinction. The next day, being introduced to the Senate, he related what Scipio had done in Spain. “That he had taken  
“Carthagera in one day, the capital of the whole  
“province: that he had retaken many cities  
“which had revolted, and had brought over  
“others into the party of the Commonwealth.” The accounts given by the prisoners confirmed what M. Valerius Messala had wrote. What  
alarmed

A. R. 542.  
Ant. C. 210.

*Lælius arrives at Rome.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
7.



A. R. 542.  
Ant. C. 210.

alarmed the Senate most, was the intended march of Asdrubal into Italy, at a time when it was not a little difficult to make head against Hannibal's forces only. Lælius was afterwards presented to the People, to whom he gave the same account as to the Senate. Thanksgivings were decreed for one day for the good success of P. Scipio, and Lælius was sent back directly into Spain with the same ships that came with him.

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS, V.  
Q. FVLVIVS FLACCVS, IV.

*Distribu-  
tion of the  
provinces.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
7.

The two Consuls entered upon office, according to custom, upon the ides of March, that is, the fifteenth day of that month. Both had Italy for their province: Fabius the part next Tarentum, and Flaccus Lucania and Bruttium. Marcellus was continued in his command for one year. Crispinus was sent to Capua, C. Aurunculejus to Sardinia, and L. Veturius to Rimini. M. Valerius and L. Cincius remained in Sicily. No change was made in the army in Spain, except that Scipio and Silanus were continued in the command, not for one year, but as long as the Senate should judge proper.

C. Manilius Vitulus was created \* *Curio Maximus*, the first of the Plebeians that was raised to that dignity.

*Valerius  
Flaccus ele-  
cted Priest  
of Jupiter,  
reforms his  
life, and re-  
establishes  
a privilege  
belonging  
to his office.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
8.

At the same time, P. Licinius, the Pontifex Maximus, obliged C. Valerius Flaccus, against his will, to be consecrated Priest of Jupiter. This fact is very particular. This Valerius had much

\* *There were thirty Curiae it was to take care of all that at Rome, as we have said elie- related to the ceremonies of re- where. Each Curia had its ligion. The principal of them head, called Curio, whose office was called Curio Maximus.*

disgraced

disgraced himself in his youth by his indolence and the irregularity of his life. Those failings had made him odious to his brother L. Valerius, and to all his relations. Licinius, who no doubt was a friend to his family, did not lose hopes of reclaiming him. He represented to him how great a misfortune it was, to afflict and dishonour his whole house in such a manner ; and gave him to understand, that the certain means to recover his reputation, would be to take upon him the office of Priest of Jupiter, and so to discharge himself in it, that the prudence of his conduct might cover and obliterate all the faults and indiscretions of his past life. The young man believed him, and gave into his advice. In effect of his application to the religious ceremonies, the care of the sacrifices, and the worship of the Gods, he renounced his former habits so effectually, that there was not one of the Roman Youth more generally esteemed by the principal Senators, nor more respected by his own family and the whole city, than him.

It must be owned, that it is a great, and the most sensible affliction that parents can suffer, to see their children depart from their duty, and abandon themselves to licentiousness. But this is an important lesson to them, to teach them, to make (a) a difference between the faults that arise from the heat and inadvertency of youth, which admit of remedy, and those which proceed from a disposition hardened in vice, and utterly incorrigible ; not to despair of their reformation ; to prepare them for it by mild and tender remonstrances ; not to use excessive menaces, and rigorous methods, which only serve to inflame and exasperate their passions ; and lastly, which is a

(a) Adhibenta est moderatio, quæ sanabilia ingenia distinguere à deploratis sciat. *Senec. de Clem.* I. 2.

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

means peculiar to Christianity, to deserve by their own conduct, that he, who is, the supreme Ruler of all hearts should change and amend those of their children.

The young man, of whom we are speaking, acquired in time, so great a reputation for probity and prudence, that he believed himself in a condition to resume a privilege formerly annexed to his office, and which those, who had exercised it, had forfeited for many years, by their want of merit. This privilege consisted in having a right to enter the Senate. Accordingly, in order to revive that prerogative, he went thither, and claimed it. The Prætor L. Licinius having ordered him to depart, he demanded the aid and support of the Tribunes. He maintained, that it was a right antiently granted to the Priests of Jupiter, with the robe bordered with purple, and the Curule chair. The Prætor objected, that such a privilege ought to be founded, not upon obsolete examples of unknown antiquity, but upon constant practice, and recent custom; and he affirmed that no Priest of Jupiter had enjoyed that right in the days of their fathers, or grandfathers for immemorial time. The Tribunes replied, that the bad conduct of the more modern Priests might affect their persons, but not their office. Upon which the Prætor persisted no longer in his opposition. Flaccus was admitted into the Senate with the unanimous consent of the Senators and People; and every body was of opinion, that he had deserved that distinction more by the purity of his manners, than the right of his office.

*Complaints  
and mur-  
murs of the  
Roman co-  
lonies.* Liv.  
xxvii. 9.

An unexpected discontent occasioned great alarm at Rome this year; and might have been attended with very unhappy effects. The Latines and allies openly murmured in their Assemblies,



semblies, and complained, “ That by the levy-  
 “ ing of men and money upon them for ten  
 “ years past, their families and purses were en-  
 “ tirely exhausted. That every campaign had  
 “ been distinguished by some signal defeat. That  
 “ battles and sickness had deprived them of al-  
 “ most all their People. That they considered  
 “ those much more as lost, who had been lifted  
 “ by the Romans, than those who had been  
 “ taken by the enemy : as Hannibal sent home  
 “ those he took without ransom, whereas the Ro-  
 “ mans sent them far from Italy, into countries  
 “ where they lived much more like exiles, than  
 “ like soldiers. That the Troops of Cannæ had  
 “ for eight years, suffered a disgrace in Sicily,  
 “ which would only terminate with their lives ;  
 “ as the Carthaginians, whose expulsion alone  
 “ was to deliver them, were now stronger and  
 “ more formidable than ever. That if the old  
 “ soldiers were not sent home, and they were  
 “ continually obliged to furnish new, they should  
 “ soon not have a man left. That therefore, before  
 “ they ~~were~~ exhausted of men and money, they were  
 “ resolved to refuse the Romans aid, which they were  
 “ upon the point of being utterly incapable of sup-  
 “ plying. That if the Romans saw all their allies in  
 “ the same disposition, they would undoubtedly  
 “ think of making peace with the Carthaginians.  
 “ That otherwise, Italy would never enjoy peace,  
 “ as long as Hannibal lived”. Such was the lan-  
 guage in the Assemblies of the allies.

Thirty of the \* Roman colonies had actually  
 Deputies at Rome. Of these thirty, twelve had  
 plainly affirmed to the Consuls, that they had  
 neither men nor money for them. The Consuls,

*Twelve of  
 them refuse  
 to furnish  
 their con-  
 tingents.  
 The Consuls  
 reproach  
 them se-  
 verely.*

\* According to Sigonius there were fifty three of them at this time.



A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 203.

struck with a declaration, as fatal as it was new, believed, that to make them alter so pernicious a design, it was more necessary to use reprimands, than good words, which would only make them more insolent. They therefore replied, “ they  
“ had presumed to say That to the Consuls,  
“ which the Consuls themselves dared not repeat  
“ to the Senate. That such Discourse ought not  
“ to be considered as a mere refusal to contribute  
“ towards the support of the war, but as an actual revolt against the Roman People. That  
“ therefore they should return as soon as possible  
“ to their colonies, and deliberate again with  
“ their constituents, that so criminal a declaration  
“ might be thought rather to have escaped their  
“ lips than to have come from their hearts.  
“ That they should take care to represent to  
“ them, that they were not Campanians nor Tarentines, but Romans. That their fathers were  
“ born in Rome, and had been sent from thence  
“ to inhabit the Lands taken from the enemy, and  
“ to augment and extend the Roman name. That  
“ the same duty children owed to their parents  
“ they owed to Rome, and that they could entertain no other thoughts without stifling all  
“ sense of gratitude in their hearts. That again,  
“ they bade them consult upon the affair, and  
“ remember, that the expressions which had escaped them, tended to no less than the destruction of the Roman power, and to put victory  
“ and Rome into the hands of Hannibal.”

The Consuls, alternately used many arguments to no purpose to make the Deputies hear reason. Insensible to all their remonstrances, they replied : “ That they had no representation to  
“ make from those who sent them ; and that  
“ it was not necessary for their people to deliberate  
“ rate

“rate upon an affair already entirely determined, A. R. 543.  
 “as they had neither money nor soldiers.” Ant. C. 209.

The Consuls finding them inflexible, made their report in the Senate. This news put every body into such a consternation, that most of the Senators cried out, “That the Commonwealth was ruined: that the other colonies would imitate so pernicious an example, and that all the allies had undoubtedly conspired to give up Rome to Hannibal.”

The Consuls exhorted the Senate to take courage, and consoled them with the hope of finding more fidelity and submission from the other colonies. The eighteen other colonies do their duty with alacrity. Liv. xxvii. 10. They added, “That even those who had departed from their duty, might return to it: and that if deputies from the Senate were sent to them, who should not use entreaties, but a stile of authority, they would make them resume sentiments of fear and respect for the Roman People.”

The Senate referred the affair to their conduct, and empowered them to do all they should think proper for the good of the Commonwealth. Accordingly after they had sounded the disposition of the other colonies, they asked their Deputies, whether they were willing to furnish the Commonwealth with their contingents? M. Sextilius, deputy from Fregellæ, answered in the name of the rest: “That the soldiers, they were to furnish, were ready; that they would even supply a greater number, if necessary; and that they would do every thing else that the Roman People should direct, with zeal and passion: (a) That they did not want the means, and much less the will.”

(a) Ad id sibi neque opes deesse, animum etiam superesse. Liv.

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

The Consuls also having applauded their zeal and fidelity, added: "That their generous offers deserved the thanks of the Senate;" and they accordingly introduced them to it. The Senate, not contented with having answered them by a decree conceived in the most honourable terms, ordered the Consuls to present them to the Assembly of the People, and there to set forth all the services the Commonwealth had received from them on different occasions, and especially this last, by which they crowned all the rest.

In my opinion, the relation I have just made must sensibly affect every reader, even after so many ages, in respect to such faithful and generous people. It is not surprizing therefore, that Livy, all zealous as he was for the glory of Rome, gives a loose here to his joy, admiration and gratitude in respect to these colonies? He (*a*) believed, as he says, that he should deprive them of the justice and glory they deserved, if he should pass over so noble an action in silence; and he considered himself as obliged, both as a Roman and an Historian, to transmit to posterity, and in some measure to consecrate the names of these eighteen colonies, whose zeal, upon this occasion, may be said to have preserved the Roman name; and he has repeated them all in the passage in question.

As to the twelve other colonies, who refused to obey, the Senate directed the Consuls to treat them with absolute neglect, without either dismissing their Deputies, keeping them at Rome, or

(*a*) Ne nunc quidem post & Norbani &c. — Harum tot secula fileantur, fraudentur coloniarum subsidio tum impuræ laude sua, Signini fuere imperium Populi Romani stetit.



speaking to them in any manner. (a) This Silence by which it was thought proper to punish their refusal, seemed more suitable to the dignity of the Roman People, than any expressed resentment whatsoever.

Amongst the other means used by the Consuls to enable them to carry on the war, they took the \* gold out of the privy treasury, which was carefully kept there as a reserve against the pressing occasions of the Commonwealth. It was to about the weight of four thousand pounds, and of that Sum the two Consuls, the Proconsuls M. Marcellus and P. Sulpicius, and the Prætor L. Veturius, had equal parts. The Consul Fabius had an hundred weight more, which was to be carried into the citadel of Tarentum. The rest was employed in purchasing cloaths with ready money for the army in Spain, of which the General and soldiers had acquired so much glory.

Fulvius after this held the assemblies for the election of Censors. M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, who had not been Consuls, had this office conferred upon them. The People, with the authority of the Senate, commissioned the Censors to farm the lands of Capua for the use of the Commonwealth.

A dispute arose between the two Censors, in respect to the person who was to be nominated Prince of the Senate. He who was placed first upon the list of the Senators was called so; which was a great honour at Rome. Sempronius was to read this list, which function fell to him by lot;

(a) Ea tacita castigatio maximè ex dignitate Populi Romani visa est. Liv.

\* This gold was called Vicefimarium, because it arose from a twentieth of the price a

slave was worth, which was paid to the Commonwealth, when he was made free. This duty was established in the 398th year of Rome.



*A. R. 543.  
Act. C. 209.* and consequently he was to nominate the Prince of the Senate. He had cast his eye upon Q. Fabius Maximus. His College Cornelius opposed that choice. He pretended, that in this respect the ancient custom ought to be observed, which had always conferred that honour upon the oldest Censor living, who then was T. Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius replied, that the Gods who had given them that choice by lot, left it entirely at his discretion: that in consequence he should nominate Fabius, who even in the judgment of Hannibal himself, was indisputably the principal and most illustrious citizen of Rome. Cornelius, after having contended for some time, complied at last, and Sempronius declared Q. Fabius then Consul, Prince and Chief of the Senate.

*Due severity exercised by the Censors.*

The list of the Senators was then read. Eight were left out; which was degrading them. Of this number was L. Cæcilius Metellus, who, after the battle of Cannæ, had given the other officers the infamous advice to abandon Italy. The Knights were treated in the same manner, who were in the same case; but those were very few. All of them, who were in the Legions at the battle of Cannæ, and who then had served in Sicily, had their horses taken from them, that is, were degraded from that rank: the number of these was very great. To this severity another was added, by declaring that the years they had served should not be allowed them, and obliging them to serve ten campaigns mounted at their own expence: which was the usual time the Knights served. Enquiry was also made after those, who being seventeen years old at the beginning of the war, ought to have entered the service, and had not done so. These were reduced to the lowest class of the citizens, retaining no other privilege annexed to that quality, except that of being kept upon

upon the registers to bear the offices of the State. A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.  
The Censors then agreed with workmen for rebuilding the edifices which had been consumed by fire.

## S E C T. II.

*Fabius prepares to besiege Tarentum. Marcellus offers Hannibal battle near Canusium. First battle with equal advantage on both sides. Second battle in which Hannibal has the better. Marcellus warmly reproaches his army. Third battle, in which Hannibal is defeated, and put to flight. Several cities in Calabria, and the neighbouring countries go over to the Romans. Fabius besieges and takes Tarentum by intelligence in the place. He carries away only one statue. Hannibal lays a snare for Fabius. His stratagem is discovered. Scipio makes the States of Spain return to the party of the Romans. Asdrubal and Scipio design to come to blows. Indibilis and Mandonius quit the Carthaginians, and join Scipio. Fine reflexion of Polybius upon the use of victory. Battle between Scipio and Asdrubal. The latter is defeated, and put to flight. Scipio refuses the title of King, offered him by the Spaniards. Massiva a young Numidian Prince sent home to his family by Scipio, without ransom and with presents. The three Carthaginian Generals join each other. Their Resolutions.*

**T**HE Consuls having made an end of all the *Fabius pre-*  
affairs that kept them at Rome, set out for *pare to be-*  
the war. Fulvius went the first to Capua. *siege Taren-*

Fabius followed some days after, having desired *tum. Liv.*  
his colleague by word of mouth, and Marcellus *xxvii. 12.*  
by letter, to act vigorously against Hannibal, in  
order to keep all his forces employed, whilst he

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209. should attack Tarentum with the same activity. He represented the importance of that siege to them, by telling them, that the Carthaginian General would no sooner be deprived of that place, than having no longer any friends or allies from whom he could hope aid, he would infallibly be reduced to abandon Italy.

At the same time he sent a courier to the Governor, who commanded the garrison of Rhegium, with orders first to lay waste the country of the Bruttii, and afterwards to attack the city of Caulonia.\* That Commander executed his orders with zeal and vigour.

*Marcellus offers Hannibal battle near Canusium.* Liv. ibid. Plut. in Marc. 313. Marcellus, in conformity to the Consul's intentions, and because he was also convinced, that no Roman General was more capable of making head against Hannibal than himself, took the field as soon as the land could supply forage, and marched against him near Canusium. Hannibal was at that time endeavouring to induce the inhabitants of that city to revolt. But as soon as he was apprized of the approach of Marcellus, he decamped. The country was entirely open, and not proper for ambuscades; which obliged him to seek places full of woods, defiles, and eminences elsewhere. Marcellus followed him close, always incamped in view of him, and had no sooner completed his works, than he offered him battle.

*First battle with equal advantage.* Hannibal contented himself with skirmishing by small detachments of horse, and slingers, and did not believe it for his interest to hazard a general battle. He was however reduced to come to one, whatever precaution he used to avoid it. For having decamped in the night, Marcellus, who never lost sight of him, joined him in a flat and open place, and by attacking his workmen on all sides, prevented him from intrenching himself. In

\* Castel-veteri in Calabria ulterior.



this manner they came to blows, and fought with all their forces, till the approach of night parted them, victory not declaring on either side. They both intrenched very hastily, on account of the little day-light that remained, and passed the night at a very small distance from each other.

The next morning at day break, Marcellus drew up his army in battle. Hannibal accepted the defiance, and before the charge began, exhorted his soldiers to behave well: “He told them that they should remember Thrasymenus and Cannæ, and check the pride of an active enemy, who did not give them a moment’s rest, who incessantly harraſſed them in their incampments, and did not afford them time to breathe. That they must expect to see every day at the same time, both the sun-rise, and the Roman army in battle. That to make them less eager for action, it was necessary to give them a new proof of the Carthaginian valour.” Animated by these remonstrances, and exasperated besides by the fierceness of an enemy, that continually tormented them, they began the battle with extraordinary fury. After the action had continued above two hours, the Roman allies on the right wing began to give way. Marcellus, who perceived it, made the twelfth legion immediately advance to the front; but whilst the first were solely intent upon flying, and the latter took their place very slowly, the whole main body of the army was pushed and put into disorder, and fear prevailing over shame, all fled. About two thousand seven hundred Romans and allies were killed in the battle, and amongst the rest four Centurions, and two legionary Tribunes. The right wing of the allies that fled first, lost four ensigns, and the legion sent to take their post, two.

*Second battle wherein Hannibal has the advantage.*

A. R. 543.  
 Ant. C. 209.  
*Marcellus*  
*sharply re-*  
*proves his*  
*army.*  
 Liv. xxvii.  
 13.  
 Plut. in  
 Marc. 313.

When the soldiers were returned into the camp Marcellus reproached them with so much warmth and severity, that they were more affected with the expressions of their incensed General, than with the grief of having fought the whole day with disadvantage. *I thank the immortal Gods,* said he, *as much as is possible after so bad success, that the victorious enemy did not come to attack us in our works, at the time when you fled thither with so much precipitation ; for the same fear, that made you quit the field of battle, would undoubtedly have made you abandon your camp. From whence could such terror and consternation arise ? What could make you so soon forget yourselves, and the enemy ? Are they not the same you have so often defeated and pursued during the whole preceding campaign ; so often harassed night and day lately, and fatigued by continual skirmishes ? But I am in the wrong to expect from you, that you should sustain the glory of your former advantages. I shall now only set before your eyes your equality with the enemy in the battle yesterday. That equality is no small shame to you. Who could have believed you were capable of falling still lower, and of descending to a still greater disgrace ? What change has happened in the space of one night and day ? Are your troops diminished ? Are those of the enemy increased ? As for my part, I do not seem to talk to soldiers, or Romans. I see the same men, and the same arms, but not with the same courage. If you had not degenerated from yourselves, would the Carthaginians have seen you fly like cowards ? Would they have taken the ensigns of a single company, or a single cohort ? Hitherto they might boast of having cut Roman legions in pieces : but you have this day given them the new glory of seeing Romans turn their backs before them.*

Upon these words there was a general cry throughout the whole army. They intreated  
 Marcellus

A. R. 543:  
Ant. C. 209:

Marcellus to forget what had passed that day, and to put their valour to any proof he thought fit for the future. *Well then*, said he, *to morrow I will try you by leading you on to battle, that you may obtain the pardon you ask as victors, not as vanquished.* In the mean time, he ordered, that barley bread should be given to the cohorts, who had lost their ensigns, and that the centurions of the companies to whom that dishonour had happened, should stand for a certain time in the most public part of the camp without belts, and with their swords drawn in their hands; which was a military punishment amongst the Romans. That they should also be under arms early the next morning, both horse and foot. He then dismissed them not a little mortified, but confessing that they had well deserved the reprimand they had received; that there was not a man, nor a Roman, in their army that day, except their General; and that to make him forget their fault, it was necessary either to conquer or die.

The next day they were all under arms according to the order of Marcellus. That General applauded the aspect and disposition in which he saw them; and declared that he would place those who had fled first, and the cohorts who had lost their ensigns, in the front: all of them having earnestly desired it of him as a favour. He told them farther, that it was necessary they should fight and conquer, that the news of their victory might arrive at Rome as soon as that of their defeat and flight. He then ordered them to refresh themselves with eating, that they might have vigour enough to sustain the fight, if it should continue long. After having said and done all that could animate the soldiers, he led them to battle.

*Third battle, in which Hannibal is defeated and put to flight.*  
Liv. xxvii: 14.  
Plut. in Marc. 313:



A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

When Hannibal saw they advanced against him, he said ; (a) *This Marcellus is a strange man ! He can neither bear good nor bad fortune. When victor, he pursues us to the utmost ; and when vanquished, he returns to battle with more haughtiness than before.* After having said these words, he ordered the charge to be sounded, and advanced to meet the Romans. The battle was much more obstinate than the day before ; the Carthaginians sparing no efforts to keep their advantage, and the Romans none to obliterate the disgrace of their defeat.

Marcellus had posted the troops, who had behaved ill the day before, in the front of the two wings : they were commanded by L. Cornelius Lentulus, and C. Claudius Nero. He reserved the main body for himself, that he might be a witness of all that passed, and in a condition to animate his troops upon occasion. Hannibal had posted the Spaniards, who were the flower of his army, and its principal strength, in the front. But seeing that the battle continued too long doubtful, he ordered the elephants to be brought on, with the view of occasioning some disorder amongst the enemy. Accordingly some confusion ensued amongst the ensigns and front ranks ; and those beasts having at first trod down or put to flight all in their way, the disorder had been greater, if C. Decimus Flavius, a legionary Tribune, having seized the standard of the first company of the *Hastati*, had not ordered the troops of that company to follow him. He led them to the place where those enormous animals in one bo-

(a) Cum eo nimirum inquit, hoste res est, qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam potest. Seu vicit, ferociter in-

stat vectis ; seu victus est, instaurat cum victoribus certamen. Liv.

dy did the most hurt, and commanded them to discharge their javelins against them. Not one but took effect, as they were thrown at so small a distance against such a number of vast beasts, crowded together. However they were not all wounded: but those that felt the points of those darts deep in their bodies taking to flight, and being then no less terrible to their own side than the enemy, drew along with them those also which were not wounded. Upon this all the Roman soldiers who were at hand, after the example of the first, pursued that flying troop, and showered their darts upon all the elephants they could overtake. Those animals in consequence fell upon the Carthaginians with vast fury, and made greater havoc amongst them, than they had amongst the Romans, as fear has much more effect upon them, and makes them much more fierce, than the voices or hands of those that guide them.

The Roman infantry immediately advanced against the Carthaginians, whose ranks the elephants had broken, and easily put troops to flight, who had lost sight of their ensigns, and could not rally. Marcellus then detached his cavalry after them, who pursued them to the gates of their camp, into which they entered with difficulty, full of terror and consternation. To augment their misfortune, two elephants had fallen dead in the middle of the gate; and as they closed the entrance the soldiers were obliged to throw themselves into the intrenchment, and to climb over the palisades, to escape. In consequence, the greatest slaughter was made there. About eight thousand men, and five elephants, were killed. This victory cost the Romans dear. The two legions lost about seventeen hundred men, and the allies above thirteen hundred, without including a great number of wounded, both of the citizens and

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

and allies. But the terror of Hannibal's name was at that time so great among the Romans, that it may be considered as a glorious exploit, to have reduced his troops to fly, though that advantage was attended with a considerable loss.

Hannibal decamped in the following night. Marcellus was very desirous to pursue him ; but the great number of his wounded men prevented him. Those who were sent out to observe the enemy's march, brought advice the next day, that Hannibal was retired into Bruttium.

*Several cities of Calabria surrender to the Romans.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
15.

At the same time the Hirpini, Lucani, and Volscentes went over to the Consul Q. Fulvius, and delivered up the Carthaginian garrisons in their cities. That General received them with great lenity ; praising their present disposition, and gently reproaching them for their past fault. The Bruttii shewed some disposition in favour of the Romans, but without any great effect ; probably because the presence of Hannibal kept them in awe. Fabius, on his side, took the city of \* Manduria, in the country of the Sallentini : where he made four thousand prisoners, with a very considerable booty.

*Fabius besieges and takes Tarentum by intelligence.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
15, 16.  
Plut. in  
Fab. 187.  
App. in  
bell. Annib. 342.

From thence Fabius repaired to Tarentum, and incamped at the very mouth of the port. Cato the Cenfor, who was then very young, served under him this campaign. Fabius prepared every thing for the siege. The sea was open for the Romans, the Carthaginian fleet having been sent to Corcyra (*Corfu*) to second king Philip in attacking the Ætolians. Chance supplied him with an occasion of terminating so important an enterprise soon, and without difficulty. Hannibal had put a body of the Bruttii into this place to assist in defending it. He who commanded them, was

\* *In the territory of Otranto.*

desperately



desperately in love with a woman, whose brother served in the army of Fabius. Upon a letter wrote by this woman to her brother, he, in concert with his General, threw himself into Tarentum, as a deserter. With help of his sister's artful caresses, he ingratiated himself very much with that officer ; and at length persuaded him to deliver up the quarter of the city, of which he had the guard, to the Romans. When they had concerted the means for executing this design, the soldier secretly quitted the city in the night, went to Fabius, and acquainted him with the measures he had taken with the Bruttian. The Roman General lost no time. After having given, at the beginning of the night, the signal agreed on to those who defended the citadel, and those who had the guard of the port, and had posted himself opposite to a certain part of the city, which the soldier had pointed out to him, the trumpets began to sound at once from the citadel, the port, and the ships that advanced from the open seas towards the place, and great cries and much noise were made in all the places, where the city had nothing to fear. Fabius in the mean time kept his troops well concealed in the post he had taken, and made them observe a strict silence. The General, who commanded the quarter of the city opposite to which Fabius lay in ambush, seeing that all was quiet on that side, whereas he heard a great noise every where else, apprehended, that whilst he kept still in his post, Fabius was assaulting the place on another side. He therefore marched with the troops he had towards the citadel, where he heard most noise and tumult. Fabius soon perceived his motion, and immediately caused ladders to be placed at the part of the wall, where the Body of the Brutii were posted, as he had been directed by the

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Ant. C. 209.

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 ANL. C. 209.

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Ant. C. 209.



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Ant. C. 209.

the soldier who had managed this intelligence. The Romans began there to take the wall, and afterwards entered the city with the assistance of the Bruttii, who received the Romans as they came up. The nearest gate was soon after broke open, which made way for the soldiers of Fabius to enter in greater numbers. Then raising great cries towards break of day, they advanced as far as the market-place without any resistance, and drew all those upon them, that fought on the side of the citadel and port.

The battle began at the entrance of the market-place with considerable warmth, but was not maintained in the same manner by the Tarentines, who were much inferior to the Romans in valour, arms, experience, and force. Accordingly the latter had no sooner discharged their javelins, than almost before they came to close fight, they turned their backs, and made off through different turnings into their houses, or those of their friends. The Romans put all they met to the sword, without regard to soldier or burgher, Carthaginian or Tarentine. They did not spare even the Bruttii much, whether they did not know them, or to satiate their antient hatred, or to make it seem as if Tarentum had been taken by force of arms, and not by treachery. If it was by Fabius's order, as Plutarch tells us, that they acted in this manner in respect to the Bruttii, to whom they were indebted for taking the city, it would have been a puerile vanity, and an horrid perfidy in him; but in my opinion such a suspicion is very incompatible with the character of so great a man.

After the soldiers had shed abundance of blood, they dispersed themselves about the city to plunder it. It is said that they took thirty thousand prisoners. They found in it a great quantity of silver, both coined and in plate, and fourscore and seven

Seven thousand pound-weight of gold ; about two millions one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, without including the silver. This sum seems exorbitant. Plutarch speaks only of three thousand talents, that makes about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling : which makes an enormous difference.

They found also in Tarentum almost as many statues and paintings as had been taken in Syracuse. The statues represented the Gods of Tarentum as large as nature, each with their peculiar arms, and in the posture of combatants. The Quæstor asked Fabius what he should do with the Gods of the Tarentines ; to which he answered, *Let us leave the Tarentines their Gods, who have served them so ill, and are angry with them.* He took away only one statue of Hercules of extraordinary magnitude, and which Plutarch for that reason calls *the Colossus of Hercules*. Strabo tells us it was of brass, and made by Lysippus, the greatest statuary of the antients. Fabius placed it in the capitol, and his own statue close to it.

Whilst these things passed at Tarentum, Hannibal reduced those who had besieged Caulonia, to surrender to him ; and having received advice that Tarentum was also attacked, he prepared to aid it, and marched night and day without giving his troops any rest. But being informed on his route, that the city was taken, he said : *The Romans too have their Hannibal. We took Tarentum by stratagem ; and they have re-taken it in the same manner.* He then confessed for the first time on this occasion, “ That he had long perceived it would be “ very hard for him to make himself master of “ Italy with the forces he had : but that then he “ found it utterly impossible.

Hannibal,

A. R. 543  
 Ant. C. 209.  
*Hannibal  
 lays a snare  
 for Fabius.  
 His stratagem  
 is discovered.*  
 Liv. xxvii.  
 16.  
 Plut. in  
 Fab. 185.

Hannibal, not to seem to have fled, did not return directly, but incamped in the same place, where he received this bad news, about five miles from the city. After having remained there some few days, he retired to Metapontum, from whence he sent two of the inhabitants to Fabius, who was still at Tarentum, with counterfeited letters from the principal persons of the city, which promised the Consul to deliver up Metapontum with the Carthaginian garrison, upon condition that all which had passed should be forgot and pardoned. Fabius did not think with his usual prudence upon this occasion. He believed too lightly the discourses made him, and fixed a day with the deputies, when he would approach Metapontum, and dismissed them with letters for the principal persons of that city, which were immediately carried to Hannibal. That General, transported with having succeeded in over-reaching Fabius himself, laid an ambuscade near Metapontum. But the Consul, having found the auspices unpropitious, as well as the entrails of the Victim which he had sacrificed, did not quit Tarentum. The people of Metapontum, who did not see him arrive on the day fixed, dispatched the same deputies to him to press him to come. He seized them, and the fear of the tortures with which he threatened them, made them discover the whole.

*Youth of  
 Cato the  
 Censor.*

I have said before that Cato the Censor served under the Consul Fabius Maximus, when he besieged Tarentum. As this Roman will in the sequel make a great figure in the Commonwealth, it is not foreign to our subject to inform the reader in what manner he had passed his youth.

Plut. in  
 Cat. p. 336.

Cato was born at Tusculum. Before he commenced soldier, he passed his early years at the estate left him by his father near the country of the Sabines. Continual labour, and a sober and regular



lar life, had given him a very healthy and robust constitution, capable of sustaining the rudest fatigues.

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Ant. C. 209.

Near his country-house was the little farm, which had belonged to Manius Curius. He often walked thither, and considering the smallness of the land, and the poverty and simplicity of the house, he could not sufficiently admire that great man, who after he became the most illustrious of the Romans, had conquered the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated that little spot with his own hands; and after so many triumphs inhabited so miserable a cottage. He found a true greatness of soul in this simplicity, and not contented with merely admiring it, he made it his model, and a duty and honour to copy it.

There lived at this time a man of the most noble and powerful families of Rome, who in effect of his profound sense and good disposition, was highly capable of discerning a rising virtue; and by his goodness, generosity and beneficence, was an highly proper person to cherish and produce it to the world: this was \* Valerius Flaccus. He had lands contiguous to the small farm of Cato. He there often heard his slaves talk of the manner in which his young neighbour lived, and of the work he did in the field. He was told, that in the morning he went to the small adjacent cities to plead the causes of such as applied to him to defend them; that from thence he returned to his land, where throwing on a mean tunick he worked with his domesticks; and afterwards, when they returned

\* *This Valerius Flaccus, as him. Plutarch however speaks it seems to me, could not be here of him, as of a man almost older than Cato, as he ready considerably important. was Consul and Censor with*

home,

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

home, he sat at the same table, and ate the same bread, and drank the same wine with them. He was also told many other things, that argued a wise and virtuous disposition, with discourses and sayings full of sense and ingenuity. He had a curiosity to see and converse with him, and invited him to supper. From that instant, he contracted a particular friendship with him, and discerned in the young man so much wisdom, and such happy talents for the city, that he rightly judged of him, as of an excellent plant, that deserved to be cultivated, and transplanted into a better soil. He advised him to go to Rome, in order to qualify himself for the administration of publick affairs.

He was not long there without acquiring friends and admirers, especially by the force and eloquence of his pleadings. For considering the talent of speaking, as a faculty, not only useful, but necessary, to those who were desirous not to pass their lives in obscurity, and to acquire distinction in the Commonwealth, he had cultivated it with great application.

Plut. in  
Caton.  
337.

At first he chose to follow and live with Q. Fabius Maximus, of all the antient Senators. Cicero puts these words into Cato's mouth upon this subject: (a) *Whilst I was very young, I loved that venerable old man, as much as if he had been of my own age. There was in him a gravity mingled with politeness, and his great age had not in the least diminished the amiable sweetness of his manners.* (b) Young persons, who in any employment

(a) Ego Q. Maximum — nec senectus mores mutaverat.  
adolescens ita dilexi senem, ut *Cic de Senect. n. 10.*  
æqualem. Erat enim in illo  
viro comitate condita gravitas: (b) Facilime & in optimam  
partem cognoscuntur adolescen-

ment whatsoever, desire in this manner the acquaintance and friendship of those who are distinguished by their merit and probity, give great hopes of their own future behaviour. For there is good reason to presume, that delighting in their conversation, being witnesses of their conduct, and considering them as their models, they will one day pique themselves upon imitating them.

Cato was of a very antient, but Plebeian, family, that had never rendered itself illustrious by the Curule offices : which constituted Nobility at Rome. Persons of these families on rising to them, were called *New Men* (*Novi Homines*.) Cato, (*a*) who had not the advantage of birth. was studious to recommend himself in another light, that is, by merit and virtue, and to become the source and principal of the nobility of his family. It was at that time a custom in Rome, for the young persons of good dispositions, who aspired at offices, to make themselves accusers of some illustrious Citizen, who had acted contrary to his duty in some notorious manner ; in order to signalize their entrance into the world by so distin-

tes, qui se ad claros & sapientes viros, bene consulentes reipublicæ contulerunt, quibuscum frequentes sint, opinionem afferunt populo, eorum fore se similes, quos sibi ipsi delegerint ad imitandum. *De Offic.* ii. 46.

(*a*) Venit mihi in mentem M. Catonis, hominis sapientissimi : qui cum se virtute, non genere, populo Romano commendari putaret, cum ipse sui generis initium ac nominis ob se gigni & propagari vellet, hominum potentissimorum suscepit inimicitias. *Ver.* *ist.* n. 180.

Hoc magis ab omnibus ejusmodi civis laudandus ac diligendus est, qui non solum à republica civem improbum removet, verum etiam se ipsum ejusmodi fore profitetur ac præstat, ut sibi non modo communi voluntate virtutis atque officii, sed etiam ut quadam magis necessaria ratione rectè sit, honesteque vivendum.— Nam qui sibi hoc sumpsit, ut corrigat mores aliorum ac peccata reprehendat, quis huic ignoscat, si qua in re ipse ab religione officiis declinârit. *Ver.* iii. 1. 2.



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 Ant. C. 209.

guishing a conduct, and to acquire the favour of the People. A young man, who acted in this manner really deserved the praise of all good men, because at the same time that he laboured to expel a bad citizen from the commonwealth, he entered into a kind of solemn engagement to be virtuous ; and to his common and general duty, added a particular and personal obligation to lead a wise and irreproachable life. For when a man has gone so far as to set himself up for a censor and accuser of the faults of others, could he be pardoned, if he departed in the least from the strict rules of justice and virtue ? And this was the method Cato used for the attainment of dignities ; and with that view, he was not afraid to draw upon himself the enmity of the most powerful citizens of Rome. His zeal might not always evidence itself ; but it was always laudable.

De Senect.  
 10.

Cato made his first campaign under Fabius, who was then Consul for the fourth time. Five years after, in his fifth Consulship, he followed him in his expedition against Tarentum : he might be at this time about four and twenty years old : and the next year, he served in Sicily as legionary Tribune. In the army he never drank any thing but water, except sometimes when extremely thirsty, he used a little vinegar, or when weak with fatigue, or weary, he took a little wine.

Plut in Ca-  
 ton. 336.

Such was the youth of a man, who will soon act a great part in the Commonwealth.

Scipio  
 brings back  
 the States of  
 Spain to  
 the party of  
 the Romans.  
 Liv. xxvii.  
 17.

Polyb. x.  
 604.

P. Scipio had employed the whole preceding winter in bringing back the Spanish States into the party of the Romans, winning them, sometimes by presents, and sometimes by the restitution of their hostages and prisoners without ransom. In the beginning of the spring, one of the most illustrious of the Spaniards named Edefco, came to him. His wife and children were in the

the hands of the Romans. But besides that motive, he was in a manner induced by the general disposition of the nation to prefer the side of the Romans to that of the Carthaginians. The same motive induced Mandonius and Indibilis, who were, undoubtedly, the most considerable Princes of Spain, to retire with all their vassals to the eminences, that commanded the camp of the Carthaginians, and from whence by continuing to keep the hills, they might arrive at the Roman army, without apprehending any thing from Asdrubal, whom they abandoned.

That General seeing, that the Roman affairs became exceedingly superior, whilst those of the Carthaginians declined every day; and that the train things had taken, could be only checked by some distinguished blow, some signal advantage, he resolved to come to a battle immediately with the enemy. Scipio was as ardently desirous of That as Asdrubal; not only because his success had exalted his courage, but because he chose rather to fight a single enemy, than to have them all at once upon his hands; which could not but happen, if he gave them time to join each other. And though he could not have avoided fighting with more than one enemy, by a wise precaution, he had found means to strengthen his army, so as to be in a condition to apprehend nothing. For as he saw the service of his fleet unnecessary, after that of the Carthaginians had abandoned the coast of Spain, he laid up his ships in the port of Tarraco, and reinforced his land forces with those intended for the sea-service. He was capable of supplying them all with arms, because he had found a great number amongst the spoils of the Carthaginians, and had also caused a prodigious quantity of them to be made by the workmen whom he had shut up in the arsenals and magazines of the city.

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Ant. C. 209.

*Asdrubal  
and Scipio  
think of  
coming to  
blows.*  
Polyb. x.  
607.  
Liv. xxviii.  
17.

A. R. 543.  
A. E. C. 209.

*Mandonius  
and Indibi-  
lis quit the  
Carthagi-  
nians and  
join Scipio.  
Ibid.*

It was with these forces Scipio at the beginning of the spring quitted Tarraco, and marched in quest of the enemy with Lælius, who was returned from Rome, and without whom he could not attempt any important enterprize. He met with none upon his march but friends and allies, who came from all parts to join him, each at the entrance of their country, accompanied him afterwards, and augmented his army. It was upon this march that Mandonius and Indibilis came to join him with their troops. Indibilis spoke, and his discourse favoured in nothing of the grossness of a Barbarian. He spoke with great dignity and reserve, and rather excused his change of side as the effect of necessity, than taking honour from it to himself as a resolution taken out of wantonness, and executed on the first occasion that offered. He said, “ That he knew that the  
“ name of a deserter was as suspicious to new  
“ allies, as it appeared detestable to old ones.  
“ That he did not blame an opinion common to  
“ all men, provided that the name only of de-  
“ serter were not considered, but the reasons e-  
“ very man might have for becoming so. He  
“ afterwards expatiated upon the important ser-  
“ vices, which his brother and himself had ren-  
“ dered the Carthaginian Generals: to which he  
“ opposed the \* insatiable avarice and insup-  
“ portable arrogance, with which the Carthaginian  
“ nation had repaid them; and concluded with  
“ the ill treatment of all kinds they had made  
“ themselves and their subjects suffer. That in  
“ consequence himself and his brother had long  
“ only worn the outside of an attachment to the  
“ Carthaginians, but that their hearts and affe-  
“ ctions had been on the side of those, by whom

\* *We shall soon see a proof of this.*

“ they



“ they knew that right and justice were religi- A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.  
 “ ously observed. That they prayed the Gods,  
 “ they might find protection against injustice and  
 “ violence. That as to them, all that they asked  
 “ of Scipio, was to make neither a merit nor a  
 “ crime of their change: but that he would judge  
 “ of them from the conduct he should see them  
 “ observe for the future.”

Scipio replied, “ That was his very intent; and  
 “ that he would not tax Princes with infidelity  
 “ and desertion, who did not think themselves  
 “ bound to observe treaties with a people that  
 “ equally despised all laws human and divine.”  
 Their wives and children were then returned to  
 them, whom they received with tears of joy;  
 and the same day Scipio lodged and regaled them  
 as his friends and guests. The next day he made  
 a treaty with them, and sent them home into  
 their own countries, to raise the supplies they had  
 engaged to furnish.

Polybius upon the occasion we have just re- *Fine reflex-  
ion of Poly-  
bius upon  
the use to be  
made of  
victory.  
Polyb. x.  
606.*  
 lated makes a very judicious reflexion, and one of  
 great importance in point of policy and govern-  
 ment. It is good, says he, so to carry on a war,  
 as to have the advantage over the enemy: but  
 it requires greater ability and prudence to make a  
 right use of victory. The Carthaginians knew  
 how to conquer. After having defeated the Ro-  
 man armies, and killed the two Generals, Publius  
 and Cneus Scipio, flattering themselves, that  
 Spain could no longer be disputed with them,  
 they observed no measures with the States of that  
 country.

The manner in which they used Indibilis, Excerpt. c  
Polyb. a-  
pud Vales.  
p. 209.  
 that Polybius relates in another place, is a very  
 evident proof of this. He was one of the most  
 powerful Princes of Spain, and most affected to

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

the service of the Carthaginians. His fidelity was put to a severe trial, as it cost him the loss of his kingdom. He had been re-established in it afterwards by way of reward for his attachment and zeal for the interest of Carthage. Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo, become haughty and insolent since his advantage over the Romans, and abusing his authority to gratify his avarice, demanded a considerable sum of Indibilis. As that Prince was in no haste to put so unjust an order in execution, Asdrubal, under a false pretext, and a calumnious accusation, obliged him to give him his daughter as an hostage.

Polyb. x.  
600.

The bad consequence of this ill treatment of the Spanish States by the Carthaginians was, that instead of friends and allies it made them enemies. And they could not avoid that misfortune, thinking, as they did, that in order to keep allies in dependance, it was necessary to treat them with haughtiness and rigour; and not knowing, that the best method for preserving dominion, is constantly to follow the maxims, that have been used in acquiring it. Now it is evident, that the true means for acquiring the obedience and subjection of a people is actually to treat them kindly, and to do them good, and to give them hopes of still greater advantages for the future. But if, after having conquered them they are oppressed and governed despotically, it is not to be wondered, if such a change of maxims in those who govern should induce a change of conduct in the people subjected. (a) Fear and terror are but weak ties to keep a people obedient: they hold only the hands, but have no power over the heart. The proof of which

(a) Metus & terror infirma odisse incipient. *Tacit. in Agric. cap. 32.*  
vincula caritatis; quæ ubi removeris, qui timere desierint

is, that they are no sooner thrown off, than hatred and revolt break out. A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

The Romans did not act in this manner. (a) From the beginning of the Commonwealth, when they were very weak, their great maxim was to treat the conquered with favour and lenity, and to make them sensible of their authority by acts of beneficence, not by violence. Their aim was to keep them firm friends, not slaves; and they did not think, that dominion could be firm and permanent if the subjects only obeyed against their will, and not out of affection. And it was this that rendered them so powerful.

The desertion of Indibilis determined Asdrubal to give battle. He judged that a victory would put him into a condition to make the States of Spain return to their duty; and if he were defeated, he could retire into Gaul, with the troops he had drawn together, and from thence into Italy, to the aid of his brother Hannibal.

Asdrubal's army was then in the country of \*Castulon near the city of Bætula or Bæcula. When the Romans approached, he moved to post himself upon an eminence, on the top of which there was a plain of considerable extent. His rear was covered by a large river; and the rest that is the front and flanks, were defended by a declivity of difficult ascent. A little below that plain, by a pretty easy descent, there was a second, which had

*Battle between Scipio and Asdrubal. The latter is defeated and put to flight.*  
Polyb. x. 608, 610.  
Liv. xxv. 18, 19.

(a) *Populo Romano jam à principio inopi, melius visum amicos, quam servos quærere; tutiusque rati violentibus, quam coactis imperitare. Sallust. in bell. Jugurt.*

*In pace, beneficiis magis, quam metu, imperium agitare. Id in bell. Catul.*

\* *Geographers differ very much concerning the Situation of Castulon, and Bætula or Bæcula.*

*Cellarius and La Martiniere place these two places near the source of the Bætis or Guadalquivir; and Castulon at the North of that river.*



A. R. 543.  
A.D. C.209.

some declivity, but terminated however at a kind of rivulet, and was no less difficult of access than the former. The next day, Asdrubal, seeing the Romans drawn up in battle before their intrenchments, made his Numidian cavalry, and the light-armed foot, both Balearians and Africans, march down into the second plain. Scipio rode through the several ranks of his army, and animated his troops, by representing to them, “ That  
“ the enemy, despairing of being able to oppose  
“ them in the open country, and diffiding in their  
“ own courage, sought their safety in the situation  
“ of the place, where they had incamped. But  
“ that the Roman soldiers had scaled the walls of  
“ Carthagera, which were much higher than the  
“ post Asdrubal had occupied.” He said no more, and immediately advanced at the head of a detachment of his light-armed troops and the flower of his army, to attack the Numidians and slingers, posted by Asdrubal upon the second plain. Besides the difficulty of the way, which was rough and steep, they had to sustain a shower of darts discharged upon them. But when they came to the level ground, and joined the enemy, they were put to flight at the first charge. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, and forced those who escaped to rejoin the main body of their army upon the higher eminence.

Scipio then commanded the victorious troops to advance directly against the centre of the enemy, and divided the rest with Lælius ; giving him orders, by inclining to the right round the hill, to find the easiest way he could to ascend it. As for himself, inclining to the left, after taking a small compass, he advanced to attack the enemy in flank. The Carthaginians were presently put into disorder, whilst they were endeavouring to face the enemy that advanced on different sides with  
great

great cries. Whilst they were in this confusion, Lælius arrived. Upon which they immediately fell back to prevent their being taken in the rear : and the first line having given way, in conformity to this motion, the Romans who advanced in the centre, gained the eminence ; which they could never have done, as long as the Carthaginians kept their ranks, and the front of the battle was covered by the elephants. The flight became general, and the slaughter was very great. They lost in this action about eight thousand men.

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 210.

Asdrubal, before the battle, had taken care to send off the treasure : And afterwards, having made the elephants set out first, and drawn together as many of the flying troops as he could, he retired towards the Tagus, in order to reach the Pyrenees, and enter Gaul.

Scipio did not think it proper to pursue him, as I shall soon observe. He abandoned the camp of the enemy to be plundered, and gave all the spoils of it to the soldiers, except the free persons, who were ten thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Africans he ordered to be sold, and dismissed the Spaniards without ransom.

They were so highly affected with this act of generosity, that those of them whom he had taken the preceding day, and who had surrendered to him before, assembled around him, and unanimously saluted him in a general acclamation with the name of King. Scipio, after having caused silence to be made by an herald, replied : “ That he knew no title more glorious than that of *Imperator*, which he had received from his soldiers. That (a) the name of *King*, so much  
“ honoured

*Scipio refuses the name of King offered him by the Spaniards.*  
Ibid.

(a) Regium nomen, alibi esse, si id in hominis ingenio magnum, Romæ intolerabile amplissimum ducerent, tacite esse. Regalem animum in se judicarent; vocis usurpatione abstinere.

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209. “ honoured and revered every where else, was  
“ detestable at Rome. That if they supposed  
“ him to have the qualities of that office, and  
“ considered them as what is greatest in man,  
“ they might think of him as they pleased ; but  
“ he begged them not to call him by that name.”

Those people, barbarous as they were, discerned the greatness of soul there was in despising, and looking down in a manner from the elevation of his virtue, upon a title so much the wish and admiration of the rest of mortals. He afterwards made all the Spanish nobility presents, and out of a great number of horses, that were part of the spoils, he desired Indibilis to chuse three hundred for himself.

*Massiva, a  
young Nu-  
midian  
Prince, set  
at liberty  
by Scipio  
without  
ransom,  
and with  
presents.  
Liv. ibid.*

Whilst the Quæstor was employed in selling the African prisoners, according to the order he had received, a youth was brought to him of such beauty and so noble an aspect, as distinguished him from all the rest. Being informed that he was of royal blood, he sent him to Scipio. That General asked him “ Who he was, and of what  
“ country, and how, being so young, he came  
“ to be in the battle ? He answered, That he  
“ was a Numidian, and that his name was Mas-  
“ siva. That having had the misfortune to lose  
“ his father, he had been educated in the palace  
“ of Gala King of the Numidians, who was his  
“ mother’s brother. That he had very lately ar-  
“ rived in Spain with his uncle Masinissa, when  
“ the latter came with his cavalry to the aid of  
“ the Carthaginians. That Masinissa, on account  
“ of his youth, had not suffered him to be present  
“ in any battle. That the day the last was fought

abstinerent. Sensere etiam mortales stupere, id ex tam  
Barbari magnitudinem animi, alto fastigio aspernantis. Liv.  
cujus miraculo nominis alii

“ between



“ between the Romans and Carthaginians, he had  
 “ secretly taken an horse and arms, and had  
 “ thrown himself into the midst of the action,  
 “ unknown to his uncle : but that his horse ha-  
 “ ving been killed under him, he had fallen with  
 “ him, and was taken by the Romans.”

A. R. 543.  
 Ant. C. 209.

Scipio gave orders for somebody to take charge of the young Prince, and when the affairs which kept him upon his tribunal were over, he returned to his tent, and having ordered him to be brought to him, he asked him, whether he desired to return to Masinissa? The boy answered with tears of joy in his eyes, that it was all he wished in the world. Upon which Scipio gave him a gold ring, and a robe called *Latus-clavus* by the Romans, a military coat in the Spanish fashion, with a gold clasp, and an horse with rich furniture : after which he dismissed him with a guard of cavalry to conduct him, who had orders to attend him as far as he should think fit.

Scipio having assembled the council of war, to consider how it was necessary to act farther against the enemy, some were of opinion, that he should pursue Asdrubal without loss of time. But he differed with them in that respect ; apprehending that Mago, and the other Asdrubal, might arrive time enough to join their colleague with their forces. For this reason, contenting himself with sending some troops to occupy the pass of the Pyrenees, he employed the rest of the campaign in receiving the States of Spain, that came over again into the alliance of the Romans.

Liv. xxvii.  
 20.

Scipio's apprehension was well founded. For some days after the battle of Boetula, he had scarce quitted the defiles of Castulon on his return to Tarraco, than he received advice, that Mago, and Asdrubal the son of Gisgo, were come from the remotest part of Spain to join Asdrubal the son of Amilcar ;

*The three  
 Carthagi-  
 nian Gene-  
 rals join  
 each other.*

A. R. 543.  
 Ant. c. 209.

Amilcar ; too late to save him from the defeat he had already sustained, but soon enough to give him good counsel and useful aid for the time to come. The event shewed the prudence of Scipio's conduct in hastening the battle as he had done. A delay of some days might have ruined all his measures, and exposed him to great danger.

Liv. xxvii.  
 42.

Fabius, afterwards, reproached him as a fault with having let Asdrubal escape out of his hands, by not pursuing him after gaining this battle, and of having put it in his power to march to Italy, which might have occasioned the ruin of Rome, if he had joined his brother Hannibal. And it would really have been a great one, if it had been possible for him to have prevented that effect. But the faint terms in which Fabius, who was at that time extremely warm against Scipio, makes him that reproach, seems to me to imply, that he himself did not think it too well founded. For he contented himself with reproaching him with the fact, without giving any reason to prove the imprudence of it.

*Their resolutions.*

The three Generals united, held a council upon the different operations of the approaching campaign. Upon their considering the disposition of the several States of Spain, only Asdrubal the son of Gisgo flattered himself, that those who inhabited the extremities of the province next the ocean and Cadiz, knowing the Romans but little, were still in the interest of the Carthaginians, and that their fidelity might be relied upon. But the other Asdrubal, and Mago, gave a very different opinion in respect to the rest of Spain. They agreed, “ That Scipio, by his beneficence, had won every body both in general and particular, and that the troops of the Carthaginians would be exposed to continual desertions, till all the Spanish soldiers were either made to march to the extremities

“ mities of the province, or even into Gaul. That A. R. 543.  
 “ for these reasons, even though the Senate of Ant. C. 209.  
 “ Carthage had not ordered it, Asdrubal should  
 “ have marched into Italy of himself, where the  
 “ weight of the war lay, and where the dispute  
 “ between the two powers was to be decided.  
 “ That this choice was necessary, if it were only  
 “ to remove the Spaniards out of a country,  
 “ where the name of Scipio was in such great ve-  
 “ neration. That therefore the losses his army  
 “ had sustained, either by bad success in battle,  
 “ or desertion, should be made up with Spanish  
 “ soldiers. That it was also proper, that Mago  
 “ should leave the command of his army to As-  
 “ drubal the son of Gisgo, and go with a large  
 “ sum into the islands Baleares to raise soldiers;  
 “ and that the same Asdrubal, with his troops,  
 “ should retire to the farthest part of Lusitania,  
 “ (*now Portugal*) and avoid coming to a battle  
 “ with the Romans. That the flower of the  
 “ whole cavalry should be chosen, to form a bo-  
 “ dy of three thousand horse, with which Mas-  
 “ nissa should over-run Hispania \* Citerior, to  
 “ aid the allies of the Carthaginians, and ravage  
 “ the countries of the enemy.” After having  
 formed these projects, they separated in order to  
 put them in execution. And this is all that passed  
 in Spain this year.

\* *This is speaking after the* called Hispania Ulterior, *that*  
*Carthaginians. It seems natu-* is to say, *from the Iberus to*  
*ral to understand by Hispania* the Ocean.  
*Citerior, what the Romans*



## S E C T. III.

*Marcellus accused by his enemies, defends himself with success. The new Consuls enter upon office. The Ludi Apollinares rendered annual. The inhabitants of Arretium are obliged to give hostages. The affair of the Tarentines is treated in the Senate. Affair of Livius. A detachment of the Romans fall into an ambuscade of Hannibal's. New ambuscade of Hannibal: Marcellus is killed in it. Contrast between Fabius and Marcellus. Hannibal is caught in his own snares at Salapia. He causes the siege of Locri to be raised. The Consul Crispinus writes to the Senate, to inform it of the death of Marcellus, and receives different orders from it. The Roman fleet beats that of the Carthaginians near Clupea. Affairs of the Greeks. Death of the Consul Crispinus. Claud. Nero, and M. Livius Consuls elect. They are reconciled. Provinces of the two Consuls. Census. Place of the assemblies covered. The Consuls make the levies with unusual rigour. Asdrubal passes the Alps. He besieges Placentia. Rough answer of Livius to Fabius scarce probable. Body of Nero's army. He gains a first victory over Hannibal; and soon after a second. Letters from Asdrubal to Hannibal intercepted. Bold design formed by Nero. He sets out to join his colleague Livius. Alarm of Rome upon the news of Nero's departure. He declares his design to his troops. Nero arrives at the camp of Livius, and joins his troops with those of his colleague. Battle with Asdrubal. Total defeat of his army: himself is killed. Asdrubal's head thrown into Hannibal's camp. He retires to the extremity of Bruttium. Triumph of Livius and Nero. Reflections upon Nero's enterprize, and the conduct of Livius.*

**I**T seems, that as soon as Scipio began to appear in action, the glory of all the other Roman Generals was in some eclipse. That of Fabius still sustained itself however, and the taking of Tarentum, though more the effect of stratagem than force, did not fail to do him honour. But the reputation of Fulvius fell entirely to the ground, and Marcellus was even in disgrace after having been defeated by the Carthaginians; besides which, people were displeased with his having put his troops into quarters at Venusia without waiting the end of the campaign, whilst Hannibal kept the field, and marched through a great part of Italy. C. Publicius Bibulus, Tribune of the People, was his declared enemy. By continually exclaiming against him in all the assemblies of the People from the day he had been worsted by Hannibal, he had already much hurt his reputation in the sense of the People; and they talked of nothing less than divesting him of his authority, when his friends prevailed, that he should leave one of his Lieutenants at Venusia to command there in his place, whilst he came to Rome to justify himself against the accusations formed against him in his absence.

By accident Marcellus and Fulvius arrived at Rome the same day; the first to obviate the affront intended him; and the other, to preside in the assemblies, which were soon to be held for the election of Consuls.

The affair of Marcellus came on in the Flaminian Circus with a great concourse of the People, and in the presence of all orders of the Commonwealth. The Tribune of the People not only attacked him, but the whole nobility. “He said, “that it was by their artifices, and designed de-  
“lays, that Hannibal had continued ten years in  
“Italy,

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

*Marcellus  
accused by  
his enemies,  
justifies  
himself  
with great  
success.*

*Liv. xxvii.  
21.  
Plut. in*

*Marc. 314.*

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

“ Italy, and seemed to have taken possession of  
 “ it by a longer residence than he had ever made  
 “ at Carthage. That the Roman people were  
 “ well rewarded for having continued Marcellus  
 “ in command, whose army, twice beaten by the  
 “ enemy, enjoyed themselves, and lived at their  
 “ ease during the whole summer in the shade of  
 “ the walls and houses of Venusia.” Marcellus  
 replied in few words, and with great nobleness,  
 contenting himself with modestly repeating his  
 principal actions, the meer recital of which, with-  
 out reflections or other proofs, was an entire apo-  
 logy for him. But the principal citizens took his  
 defence upon themselves in an higher tone, and  
 spoke in his favour with abundance of force and  
 freedom. They admonished the People not to  
 judge worse of Marcellus than the enemy himself,  
 in accusing him of cowardice, who was the only  
 one of all their Generals, that Hannibal had in-  
 dustriously shunned, and with whom he still per-  
 severed as carefully to avoid a battle, as he ar-  
 dently fought it with all the rest.

The sentence was not ambiguous. Not only  
 the Tribune’s proposal for divesting Marcellus of  
 the command was rejected, but the next day all  
 the centuries unanimously elected him Consul. We  
 cannot but feel a secret indignation against the ex-  
 cessive licence of a Tribune, who obliges so great  
 a man as Marcellus to appear before the People as  
 a criminal, and there to give an account of his  
 actions. But it was this very licence, all vicious  
 and blameable as it was, that had long preserved  
 in Rome that liberty, which may be called the  
 soul of the Commonwealth, in keeping the Gene-  
 rals and Magistrates within the bounds of their  
 duty by a just subordination, and an entire depen-  
 dence upon the authority of the People, and the  
 sovereignty of the laws.

The



The People gave T. Quintius Crispinus, who was actually Prætor, to Marcellus for colleague. The next day they created Prætors, P. Licinius Crassus Dives, who was Pontifex Maximus; P. Licinius Varus, Sex. Julius Cæsar, and Q. Claudius Flamen.

A. R. 543.  
Ant. C. 209.

At the same time that the assembly was held, the people were in some anxiety about Hetruria, where an insurrection was apprehended, and the Prætor upon the spot had sent advice, that the city of Arretium seemed to be at the head of that design. Marcellus was dispatched thither immediately, and his presence put an instant stop to the disorders that had began to break out.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, V.  
T. QUINTIUS CRISPINUS.

A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

These two Consuls entered upon office the eleventh year of the war with Hannibal. Both of them had Italy for their province, with the two armies that had served under the Consuls of the preceding year. The other magistrates and Generals had each their employment and province assigned them. The whole forces of the Commonwealth this year consisted of twenty-one legions, that is, of an hundred and five thousand foot, and six thousand three hundred horse.

*The new Consuls enter upon office.*  
Liv. xxvii, 22.

The plague, with which Rome was at that time afflicted, occasioned the people to vow and perpetuate the *Ludi Apollinares*, and to fix the day for celebrating them, which was the fifth of July.

*The Ludi Apollinares made annual.*  
Liv. xxvii, 23.

The disquiet increasing every day in respect to the people of Arretium, the Senate wrote to the Proprætor Tubulus, to demand hostages of them immediately, and sent C. Terentius Varro thither to receive and bring them to Rome. As soon as

*The people of Arretium are compelled to give hostages.*  
Liv. xxvii, 24.

A. R. 544.  
A. D. C. 208.

the latter arrived with some troops, he posted guards at all the proper parts of the place, and having made the Senators come to the Forum, he ordered them to give hostages. Upon their demanding two days to consider of it, he declared, that if they did not comply directly, he the next day would take away all the children of the Senators. He then gave orders, that the officers should keep a good guard at the gates, that nobody might quit the city. The negligence with which this order was put in execution, gave seven of the principal Senators opportunity to quit the place before night, with their children. Their estates were confiscated and sold the next day; and from the remaining Senators six-score hostages were taken, who were carried to Rome, and proper measures were taken to secure the city.

*The affair  
of the Tar-  
rentines  
treated in  
the city.*

Liv. xxvii.

25.

Plot. in

Feb. 187.

The affair of the Tarentines was afterwards canvassed in the Senate with abundance of warmth in the presence of Fabius. That General, who had commanded in reducing them, used all his credit at this time to defend them. All the rest had declared against them, and maintained that as they were no less criminal than the Campanians, they ought to be punished with as much severity. After great debates, the Senate, in conformity to the opinion of Manius Acilius, decreed that a strong garrison should be kept in the place; that all the inhabitants should be kept within the walls, and that in time, when the peace of Italy should be restored, their affair should be examined anew.

They were no less divided in respect to the manner M. Livius the Governor of the citadel of Tarentum should be treated. Some were for having a note of infamy set upon him by a decree of the Senate, for having delivered up the city to the enemy through negligence. Others decreed him rewards, for having defended the citadel during

ring five years, and affirmed it was owing to him, A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208. that Tarentum had been retaken. *That's true*, said Fabius smiling, *for if he had not lost the city, I should not have retaken it.* Nothing was determined in the affair.

The two Consuls had joined each other in Apulia, and incamped separately between Venusia and Bantia, at about a league from each other. Hannibal quitted the country of the Locrians, and approached their army. The Consuls, who were both equally active and warm, drew out their troops in battle almost every day, not doubting but they should terminate the war happily, if Hannibal should dare to venture a battle with the united armies of both the Consuls. The Carthaginian General was far from having any such design. He confined himself entirely to stratagem, the success of which he had experienced, and thought only of laying ambuscades for the enemy.

As the two armies only skirmished with each other with various success, the Consuls believed, A detach-  
ment of the  
Romans  
fall into an  
ambuscade  
of Hanni-  
bal's. that during this kind of inactivity they might form the siege of Locri; and in order to that, they ordered part of the troops in garrison at Tarentum, to invest Locri by land, whilst L. Cincius, the Prætor of Sicily, besieged it by sea. Hannibal, Liv. xxvii.  
26.  
Plut. in  
Marc. 315; who had intelligence of what passed, detached three thousand foot, and two thousand horse, with orders to post themselves in ambuscade in the way from Tarentum to Locri, in a valley under Petilia. The Romans, who had not sent out scouts, fell into this snare. The enemy killed about two thousand of them, and took two hundred prisoners. The rest having taken to flight, dispersed themselves into the country and the woods, and regained Tarentum.



A. R. 544.  
 Ant. C. 208.  
*New am-  
 buscade of  
 Hannibal.  
 Marcellus  
 is killed in  
 it.*

Between the camp of the Carthaginians, and that of the Romans, there was an eminence covered with bushes and full of hollows. The Romans were surprized, that Hannibal, who had arrived first at so commodious a place, had not occupied it: but That itself was a reason, why they should have suspected it. During the night he had sent some Numidian squadrons with orders to keep close in the day-time in the midst of the wood, without stirring in the least, that the Romans might not discover them, nor the brightness of their arms betray them. In the camp of Marcellus they thought and talked in a manner most capable of favouring the design of the enemy. They said openly, that it was necessary to seize that hill, and to intrench there, because if Hannibal prevented them, they would have the enemy over their heads. The Consul Marcellus was struck with these reports; and addressing himself to his colleague: *Let us go to the place ourselves, said he, with a small number of horse. When we have examined the post with our own eyes, we shall be more certain, in respect to the choice it is proper we should make.* Was this then a function for Generals and Consuls? Crispinus consented to it, and they immediately set out with two hundred and twenty horse, all Hettrurians except forty, who were of Fregellæ. M. Marcellus, the Consul's son, and other officers, attended them. The enemy had posted a soldier, so as, without being seen by the Romans, he could perceive all the motions made in their army. That sentinel having made his signal, those who were in ambuscade suffered Marcellus to approach as far as the foot of the little hill. They then rose up, and all together, raising great cries, came on to charge the detachment of the Romans. The Consuls, seeing it equally impossible to gain the eminence possessed by the enemy,

my, or to return back, being surrounded on all sides, chose to defend themselves courageously. A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

And they would have disputed the victory longer, if the flight of the Hetrurians had not put the rest into a consternation. In the mean time, the Fregellani, abandoned by their companions, did not cease to fight, as long as the Consuls were at their head, and animated them by their discourse and example. But when they saw, that they were both wounded, and that Marcellus himself, after having been ran through with a lance, fell dying from his horse, the few that remained fled with Crispinus, who had been ran into the body with two javelins, and young Marcellus, who was wounded. Aulus Manlius the legionary Tribune, and M. Aulus, one of the Commanders of the allies, were killed in the action: L. Arennius, the other, was taken prisoner. Five of the Consul's Lictors fell alive into the enemy's hands: the rest were either killed, or fled with the Consul. Forty-three of the horse perished, either in the battle, or in flight. Eighteen remained prisoners. The camp began to make some motions in order to go to the Consul's aid, when Crispinus, with his colleague's son, and the mournful remains of so unfortunate an expedition, were seen returning.

We cannot refuse Marcellus the honour of having been one of the greatest of the Roman captains. Fabius and he equally contributed to preserve the Commonwealth; and it is with reason, Contrast between Fabius and Marcellus. Plut. in Fab. 185. Id. in Marc. that the one was called *the buckler*, and the other *the sword* of Rome. Fabius, of a firm and determinate disposition, never departed from the plan he had first formed, which was absolutely necessary, at least in the beginning, for re-instating affairs, and reviving the confidence by degrees of the discouraged troops; and, like a river which runs without noise, and continually en-

A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

croaches upon the shore, he made it his care, and succeeded in it, insensibly to undermine the strength of an enemy, whom the victories he had gained had made haughty and daring. Marcellus on the contrary, who was of an active and shining valour, made an impatience to fight succeed the consternation with which the Romans had long been seized, and so exalted their courage, as to make them capable, not only of not yielding the victory easily, but of disputing it obstinately; so that Hannibal met Marcellus every-where in his way, like an impetuous torrent, that frustrated all his designs, and ruined all his enterprizes. Thus the resolution and constancy of the one, in keeping always upon the defensive, with the audacity and activity of the other, who risked every thing, were the preservation of Rome.

Death of  
Marcellus  
inexcusa-  
ble.  
Liv. xxvii.  
27.  
Plut. in  
Marc.

But it must be owned, that if the glory of their lives was almost equal, though in a quite different species of merit, the fate of Marcellus seems to give the advantage to the wise slowness of Fabius. His (a) death, deplorable in every light, is particularly so, as it leaves room to accuse him of having exposed his own person and that of his colleague, and at the same time the whole Commonwealth, to the danger of perishing, by an activity that suited neither his age (for he was then above sixty) nor the prudence he ought to have acquired in the great number of years he had been in the service. When a General's presence is either necessary, or of great moment for the success of an important and decisive action, he ought not to spare his own person. But when the advantage

(a) Mors Marcelli, cum aliqui miserabilis fuit, tum quod nec pro ætate (major jam enim sexaginta annis erat) neque pro veteris prudentia ducis, tam improvidè se, collegamque & prope totam rempublicam in præceps dederat. Liv.



resulting from an action is not considerable, or he hazards every thing in exposing himself, this is not properly bravery, but rashness and extravagance. He ought to remember, that there is a wide difference between a General and a private soldier: and should expose himself only as becomes a General; as the head, not the hand; as him who is to give orders, not as those who are to put them in execution. Euripides says in one of his pieces, *that if it be necessary for a General to die, it ought to be when he lays down his life in the arms of Virtue*; to signify that there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence; and that only virtue, and not a vain desire of glory, has a right over the life of a General: because the first duty of valour is to save him, who saves others. Accordingly Appian observes, that Hannibal praised him as a soldier, but blamed him very much as a General.

A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

Plut. in compar.  
Pelop. & Marc.

App. in bell. An-  
nib. 342.

Hannibal, to take the advantage of the terror, which he well knew the death of Marcellus, and his colleague's wounds, must have spread amongst the Romans, marched immediately, and incamped with his army upon the eminence, at the bottom of which the battle had been fought. He there found the body of Marcellus, and caused it to be interred. As to Crispinus, terrified by his colleague's death and his own wounds, he retreated the following night to the tops of the nearest and highest mountains, where he fortified his camp so as to make it impossible to be attacked on any side.

*Hannibal is caught himself in his own snares at Salapia.*  
Liv. xxvii. 28.  
App. 343.

On this occasion both Generals shewed abundance of address and prudence, the one in laying snares for his enemy, and the other in avoiding them. The ring of Marcellus had fallen into the hands of Hannibal with his body. Crispinus, apprehending that he might use it to deceive the al-

A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 203.

lies of the Commonwealth, wrote advice to all the neighbouring cities, that his colleague had been killed, and that Hannibal had the seal Marcellus used in his life in his hands; that in consequence, they should give no credit to any letters that should come in the name and under the seal of Marcellus. This precaution was wise, and not useless. The Courier from Crispinus was scarce arrived at Salapia, than a letter was received there from Hannibal, but wrote in the name of Marcellus, to tell them, that he would come to Salapia the next night; and that the soldiers of the garrison should hold themselves in readiness to obey his commands, in case he should have occasion for them. The people of Salapia presently perceived the cheat; and well assured, that Hannibal enraged by their treachery sought occasion to revenge it, as well as the loss of his cavalry, they dismissed Hannibal's messenger, who was a Roman deserter, in order that they might take proper measures unobserved against the deceit of their enemy.

See Vol. V.

The officers posted the inhabitants upon the walls of the city, and in all the places that required guards; ordered the sentinels and posts to watch with the utmost attention that night; and placed the best troops of the garrison near the gate, where they judged Hannibal would arrive, as he did towards the end of the night. The Roman deserters formed the advanced guard, armed in the Roman manner; and all talking Latin, called upon the sentinels, and ordered them to open the gate to the Consul, who was upon the point of arriving. The sentinels pretending to move at their bidding, made a great noise and stir in opening the gate. As the portcullis was down, they partly made use of levers and partly of cords for drawing it up. The deserters no sooner saw it high

high enough for them to go under it upright, than they came in crouds to enter. But when about six hundred of them had passed, the guards loosing the cords that kept the portcullis suspended, let it fall with a great noise. The inhabitants immediately fell upon the deserters who had entered, and who carried their arms negligently made fast behind their backs, like persons who march with nothing to fear amidst friends and allies: and others beat down those who remained without the gate with stones, clubs, and darts. Hannibal, having been thus caught in his own net, retired in great confusion, and marched towards Locri, in order to raise the siege of that city, which Cincius carried on vigorously with machines of all kinds, that he had brought from Sicily.

Mago, who defended the place, was almost in despair of being able to keep it, when the news of the death of Marcellus gave him some hope. That, was soon increased by a courier from Hannibal, with advice that he had detached the Numidian cavalry, and was advancing himself to his aid with his infantry, that marched with the utmost diligence. For this reason, as soon as he knew that the Numidians were upon the point of arriving by the signal given him by them from an eminence, he immediately caused the gates of the city to be opened, and attacked the besiegers with a boldness and vigour that amazed them. That surprize, and not the equality of forces, at first kept the advantage in some suspense. But the Numidians no sooner arrived, than the Romans were terrified and made to their ships, leaving the machines they had used in battering the walls of Locri in the possession of the Carthaginians. The siege of that city was raised by Hannibal's arrival only.

A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

*Hannibal  
causes the  
siege of Lo-  
cri to be  
raised.  
Liv. ibid.*

When



A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

*The Consul  
Crispinus*

*writes to*

*the Senate,*

*to inform it*

*of the death*

*of Marcel-*

*lus, and re-*

*ceives dif-*

*ferent or-*

*ders from*

*it.*

Liv. xxvii.

29.

When Crispinus received advice that the Carthaginian General was set out for the country of the Bruttii, he ordered M. Marcellus the legionary Tribune, who apparently had received only a slight wound, to march the army his colleague had commanded to Venusia. As for himself, he set out with his legions for Capua in a litter, the motion of which he could scarce support on account of his wounds, which were very considerable. On his departure he wrote to the Senate, to inform it of the news of the death of his colleague, and his own danger. He told them, “ That he could not  
“ come to Rome to preside at the election of ma-  
“ gistrates, because besides the bad state he was  
“ in, in effect of his wounds, he apprehended for  
“ the city of Tarentum, upon which Hannibal,  
“ who was in the country of Bruttium, might  
“ make some attempt. That he desired some of  
“ the most able Senators might be sent to confer  
“ with him.”

The reading of this letter occasioned at once great grief for the death of one of the Consuls, and no less pain for the life of the other. They sent Q. Fabius the son of Maximus to the army at Venusia, and three deputies to the Consul, who were Sext. Julius Cæsar, L. Licinius Pollio, and C. Cincius Alimentus, who had been returned some days from Sicily. They had orders to tell him, That if he could not come to Rome to preside at the elections, he should create a Dictator to hold the assemblies in his stead.

*The Roman*

*fleet beats*

*that of the*

*Carthagi-*

*nians near*

*Clupea.*

Liv. *ibid.*

During this same campaign, M. Valerius went from Sicily to Africa, with a fleet of an hundred sail ; made a descent near Clupea, and ravaged all the country around it, without any resistance. But he was soon obliged to return on board his ships, because he was informed, that the Carthaginian fleet of fourscore sail, was upon the point of arriving.

ving. He gave it battle in the neighbourhood of Clupea, and defeated it; and having taken eighteen ships, and put the rest to flight, he returned to Lilybæum with great spoils.

A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

There was at the same time great movements in Greece, excited and fomented by the Romans, to find Philip employment at home. The Ætolians on one side, supported by the Romans, and Philip with the Achæans, were the principal actors in them. I have related these events in the Ancient History, to which they more particularly belong. In the sequel I shall speak of what has most relation to the Roman History.

*Affairs of  
the Greeks.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
30—32.

Vol. VIII.

At the end of this year, the Consul T. Quintus Crispinus, after having created a Dictator to hold the assemblies, died of his wounds. This Dictator was T. Manlius Torquatus, who appointed Cn. Servilius General of the horse.

*Death of  
the Consul  
Crispinus.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
33.

As the two Consular armies were without Generals so near the enemy, the first care of the Senators, every thing else being postponed, was to elect Consuls as soon as possible, whose prudence, as well as valour, might make them proof against Hannibal's stratagems. They considered, "That  
" all the losses, which had been sustained during  
" this war, were solely to be imputed to the rash  
" and impetuous characters of the Generals, who  
" had commanded: but that particularly this last  
" year, the Consuls, from having abandoned  
" themselves too much to their ardor for coming  
" to blows with Hannibal, had thrown them-  
" selves into the precipice. But that the Gods,  
" through an effect of their goodness and mercy,  
" had spared the armies, who had not shared in  
" this fault, and had made the punishment due  
" to their temerity fall only upon the Consuls."

*Claud. Nero,  
and  
M. Livius  
Consuls  
elect.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
33, 34.

The Senators, on enquiring upon whom they should cast their eyes for the Consulship, were of opinion,

A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

opinion, that C. Claudius Nero merited that honour preferably to all others. But as, whilst they confessed his excellent qualities, he seemed of a disposition too warm and enterprizing for the present conjunctures, and such an enemy as Hannibal, they thought it necessary to give him a colleague, whose coolness and prudence might be capable to qualify his ardor.

M. Livius, some years before, had been condemned by a sentence of the people, on the expiration of his Consulship. He had resented this affront so highly, that he had retired into the country ; and he had been eight years without setting foot in Rome, refusing to have any commerce with unjust and ungrateful citizens. At the end of that time, the Consuls M. Marcellus and M. Valerius had at length prevailed upon him to return to the city. But, confining himself within his domestic affairs, he had no share in those of the publick ; always retaining a sad and dejected outside, and suffering his beard and hair to grow. The Censors L. Veturius and P. Licinius obliged him afterwards to quit all these signs of affliction, and to come to the Senate. He complied with their authority : but whatever affair was treated, he never opened his mouth except to express his assent or dissent to a question. He at length threw off so tenacious a silence, to defend one of his relations in an affair of honour : this might be the M. Livius Governor of Tarentum, of whom we have spoken at the beginning of this year. This new conduct drew upon him the eyes and attention of the whole Senate. Every body made their own reflections upon it. It was said, “ That the People had passed sentence upon him unjustly, that it had been a very considerable loss to the Commonwealth, to have been deprived during so important a war of the aid and counsels of a  
“ man



“ man capable of being so useful to it. That the  
 “ sole means for making him amends for that  
 “ fault was to elect him colleague to Nero.”

A. R. 544.  
 Ant. C. 208.

The People readily gave into this proposal. Livius alone opposed the unanimous consent of the whole city. He reproached them with their inconstancy. *You would not suffer yourselves to be moved, said he to them, by my entreaties, nor the mourning outside that suited the unhappy condition of an accused person; and now you offer me the purple against my will. You load the same man with honours, and disgrace. If you thought me a man of worth, why did you pass sentence upon me? If you believe me criminal, why do you confide a second Consulship to me, after having been deemed so bad in the first?* The Senate endeavoured to persuade him, “ by setting before him the example of Camillus, “ who, when condemned to an unjust banishment, “ had returned from it to save Rome from the “ Gauls. They (*a*) represented to him, that only “ mildness and patience were to be returned to the “ ill treatment a man receives from his country, “ as to that from one’s father or mother.” At length they overcame his resistance, and obliged him to accept the Consulship with Nero.

Three days after came on the election of Præ- Liv. xxvii.  
 tors. The distribution of the provinces was then 35.  
 made. T. Manlius had orders to cross the sea with the character of ambassador, to inspect into what passed in Greece: and as the Olympic games were to be celebrated during this \* campaign, at which a great concourse of all the people of Greece were usually assembled, he was directed, if he could pass with safety through the quarters of the

(a) Ut parentum sævitiam, sic patriæ, patiando ac ferendo leniendam esse. Liv.

\* Dodwell affirms and proves, that these games had been celebrated the year before.

A. R. 544.  
 ANL. C. 208.

enemy, to repair to that assembly ; and there, to declare to the Sicilians, whom the war had obliged to quit their country, and to the citizens of Tarentum, whom Hannibal had banished, that the Roman People permitted them to return to their respective countries, and to re-possess the estates, which had belonged to them before the war.

As the year upon which they were entering threatened the Commonwealth with the greatest dangers, and as there were no Consuls actually in office, all eyes were turned upon those elect ; and it was ardently desired, that they might draw lots as soon as possible, in order that each of them might know in good time, which was to be his province, and the enemy with whom he should have to deal.

*Nero and  
 Livius are  
 reconciled.*  
 Liv. Ibid.  
 Val. Max.  
 iv. II.

It was also thought necessary to reconcile them fully to each other before they took the field, which proposal was made by Fabius. The cause of their division was, Nero's having given evidence against Livius at the trial, wherein the latter was sentenced. Livius had always shewn himself the most irreconcilable, because he conceived, that he had been despised at the time of his disgrace ; and contempt, in such circumstances, is much most offensive. Accordingly he opposed all instances made to him ; even affirming that their division would be of advantage to the Commonwealth, as each of them would discharge his functions with more zeal and application, and keep himself more upon his guard, in order not to give his enemy an advantage. At length however he submitted to the authority of the Senate, and they were sincerely reconciled on both sides, as appeared in the sequel. Great praise for both Consuls, but especially for Livius ! (a) Never was cause of enmity

(a) Quæ fuerunt inimicitie gravioris in civitate ? quas in viris

enmity greater, or more affecting. However, the view of the publick good, and regard for the request of so many grave Senators, not only effaced in them all remembrance and resentment of the past, but established such an union and good understanding between them as seemed the effect of an old and constant friendship, that had never known any interruption.

A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.

Neighbouring provinces were not allotted the Consuls, (as had been done the preceding years) in which they might act either together, or in concert with each other: but they were sent to the two extremities of Italy, so that the one had the country of the Bruttii and Lucania for his province, where he was to make head against Hannibal; whilst the other marched into Gallia Cisalpina, to meet Asdrubal: for advice had been brought, that he was upon the point of passing the Alps, and this news gave abundance of disquiet to the Romans.

*Provinces of the Consuls.*

This year the Censors P. Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Cornelius Cethegus compleated the *Census*, and that for the first time since the entrance of Hannibal into Italy. In this *Census* the number of the citizens were an hundred and thirty-seven thousand, one hundred and eight, that is, almost less by one \* half than they were before the war. For the year before Hannibal's entrance into Italy, the number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and thirteen.

*Census.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
36.

ris fortissimis non solum extinxit reip. dignitas & ipsorum, sed etiam ad amicitiam consuetudinemque traduxerunt. *Cic. de provinc. Consul. 22.*

\* Minor aliquanto numerus. *We see here that aliquantus*

*sometimes signifies multus: as also in this passage of Cicero. Auri navem evertat gubernator, an paleæ; in re Aliquantum, in gubernatoris infcitia nihil interest. Parad. iii. 1.*

This



A. R. 544.  
Ant. C. 208.  
*Place of the  
assemblies  
covered.*

This year the part of the Forum called *Comitium* was covered with a roof; the tribunal for harangues was in this place near the *Curia*, where the Senate assembled.

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

M. CLAUDIUS NERO.  
M. LIVIUS, II.

*The Consuls make  
the levies  
with unusual  
severity.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
38.

After the several religious duties were discharged, the Consuls thought only of levying the soldiers; which they did with more exactness and severity, than had been used the preceding years. The arrival of a new enemy in Italy had greatly increased the fear and anxiety of those Generals, and the considerable diminution of the number of the youth rendered the levies much more difficult.

Every body was of opinion, that the Consuls should take the field immediately. For it was judged necessary that the one should be in a condition to oppose Asdrubal, as soon as he came down from the Alps, to prevent him from joining the Cisalpine Gauls and the Hetrurians, who only waited the occasion to declare against the Romans; and that the other should find Hannibal so much employment in the country of the Bruttii, where he was, that he should not be able to march to join his brother. To hasten their departure, and remove all difficulties, the Senate gave them full power to chuse out of the armies such troops as they thought fit, to make such exchanges as they should judge necessary, and remove the officers and soldiers from one province to another, as they should deem most proper for the good of the Commonwealth. The Consuls used this permission with great unanimity, and in concert.

Some authors observe, that Scipio sent very considerable aids from Spain to Livius: viz. eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, two thousand Romans

mans detached from one of his legions, and about eighteen hundred horse, half Spaniards, half Numidians; and that M. Lucretius was appointed to carry this reinforcement to Italy by sea. And also that C. Mamilius sent him about four thousand slingers and archers from Sicily.

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

The letters received at that time by the Senate from the Prætor Porcius, who was actually in Cisalpine Gaul, much increased the disquiet occasioned by the approach of Asdrubal. They said, that he had quitted his winter-quarters, and was actually passing the Alps. That the Ligurians had formed a body of eight thousand men, who would not fail to join his army as soon as it should arrive in Italy, unless troops were sent to keep them employed in their own country. That as for him, he would advance as much as possible without exposing so weak an army as his. These letters obliged the Consuls to hasten their levies, and to repair to their provinces sooner than they intended, in order that each of them might keep his enemy in his province, and to hinder the two brothers from joining.

*Asdrubal  
passes the  
Alps.*  
Liv. xxvii:  
39.  
App. 343.

What contributed most to the success of this design, was the opinion of Hannibal himself. For, though he was in hopes that his brother would arrive this campaign in Italy, yet, when he reflected upon all he had suffered himself for five months together, during which he had the places as well as the people to overcome, he did not suppose that he would pass with so much ease as he did. And these thoughts kept him the longer in his winter-quarters.

But Asdrubal found much fewer difficulties and obstacles in passing those mountains, than had been generally expected, and he had apprehended himself. For not only the people of Auvergne, and soon after all the other States of Gaul and of

A. R. 545.  
407. C. 207.

the Alps received him, but also followed him to the war. And besides his brother's having levelled the ways, which were before impracticable, the inhabitants of the country themselves, in effect of seeing bodies of men pass through the midst of them during twelve years, were become more tractable, and less savage. For before that time, having never seen any strangers upon their mountains, and not quitting them themselves to visit other countries, they had no commerce with the rest of mankind. And at first, not knowing Hannibal's design, they had imagined, that it was against their forts and huts, and that he was come to take away their cattle, and make slaves of their persons. But during the twelve years that Italy had been the theatre of war, they had had time to comprehend, that the Alps was only a pass: that two powerful nations, separated by an immense tract of sea and land, were disputing empire and glory with each other. And this opened and facilitated Asdrubal's passage over the Alps. He brought with him forty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and fifteen elephants.

Appian.

Asdrubal  
sieves  
Placentia.

But his forming the siege of Placentia, made him lose all the advantage he might have derived from his diligence. He believed, that he should easily make himself master of a city situated in the midst of a plain, and that by the ruin of so illustrious a colony, he should spread terror throughout all the rest. And this vain attempt was not only prejudicial to himself, but to Hannibal. For the latter, seeing that Asdrubal, after having arrived much sooner in Italy than there was reason to expect, amused himself before Placentia, did not think it proper to quit his winter-quarters so immediately: and besides, he remembered the little success of his designs upon Placentia after the victory at Trebia.

The



The Romans, when they saw their Consuls take quite different routs on quitting Rome, were also divided in their disquiet, as between two wars, which they had to sustain at the same time. A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

“ They remembered the calamities which Hannibal alone had occasioned in Italy. Could they hope that the Gods would be so propitious to grant them victory over two such enemies at once? They reflected, that hitherto they had supported themselves only with an alternative of losses and advantages, which had reciprocally balanced each other. That the Commonwealth crushed by the defeats at Thrasymenus and Cannæ, had been in a manner reinstated by the good success of her arms in Spain. That the loss of the two Scipios defeated and killed immediately after each other with their armies in the same country, had been followed very close by several advantages gained by Rome in Sicily and Italy. Besides which, the distance of Spain from Italy, where this misfortune had happened, had given the Romans time to breathe. But that they had now actually two wars to sustain at the same time in the very heart of Italy; that they had upon their hands two formidable armies commanded by the two most illustrious Generals of the Carthaginians; and that the weight of the danger, which was separate before, fell now entirely upon one and the same place. That of two brothers, he who should first be victorious, knew how to join the other immediately.” The very recent deaths of the two last Consuls still augmented their consternation, and presented to their minds only sad presages for the time to come. Such were the anxious reflections made by the Romans in accompanying the Consuls, according to custom, at their departure.

A. R. 545.  
 Ant. C. 207.  
*Rough an-  
 swer of  
 Livius to  
 Fabius  
 scarce pro-  
 bable.*  
 Liv. xxvii.  
 40.

Livy tells us that Fabius, always intent upon the public good, and never losing sight of the plan he had so happily followed in making war with Hannibal, thought it incumbent upon him to advise the Consul Livius before he set out, to hazard nothing, till he knew the genius and force of the enemy he was going against. *I shall give battle,* replied Livius abruptly, *the moment I see the enemy.* And upon Fabius's asking, what might be his motive for such great precipitation: *I shall either,* says the Consul, *have the glory of overcoming the enemy, or shall have the grateful, tho' perhaps not the allowable pleasure, of avenging myself upon my fellow citizens.* Such dispositions, if they came really from the heart of Livius, must have given the Romans reason to apprehend every thing, and a very bad idea of him. But his conduct will resemble this discourse in nothing, and make it more than probable that it never escaped him. And indeed the advice seems to have suited Nero much better, who was of a warm and impetuous genius, than his colleague, who had been expressly chosen to temper the other's vivacity.

Before Nero arrived in his province, the Prætor C. Hostilius attacked Hannibal upon a march, killed almost four thousand men, and took nine ensigns.

*Troops of  
 which Ne-  
 ro's army  
 consisted.*

Hostilius, on his way to Capua, met the Consul Nero near Venusia. There, that General out of the best troops of the two armies formed a body of forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, to act against Hannibal.

*Nero gains  
 a victory  
 over Han-  
 nibal.*  
 Liv. xxvii.  
 41, 42.

The latter, having drawn his troops out of their winter-quarters, and the cities of Bruttium, where they had been in garrison, marched to Grumentum in Lucania, in hopes of retaking the cities of that country, which fear had obliged to return to the party of the Romans. The Consul also re-  
 paired

paired thither from Venusia, having caused all the places through which he passed to be viewed, and incamped fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. Between the Roman camp and that of the Carthaginians, there was a plain, commanded by an hill entirely uncovered, which the Romans had on their right, and the enemy on their left. This eminence gave no umbrage to either side; because as it had neither wood nor hollow upon it, it was not fit for ambuscades; some slight skirmishes passed on both sides of it in the midst of the plain. Nero seemed to have no other end, but to keep back Hannibal, and to prevent him from getting away: Hannibal, on the contrary, being desirous to open himself a free passage, used all possible endeavours to bring Nero to a battle. The Consul at that time employed the Stratagems against Hannibal, which he had so often used against the Romans, and detached a body of infantry from his army, consisting of five cohorts and \* ten companies, and ordered them to go up the hill during the night, and from thence down into the valley behind it, and to lie hid there; a stratagem which he thought the more likely to succeed, as so naked and uncovered a hill gave less room to fear a surprise. He fixed the time with the two officers, who commanded the detachment, when they should quit their ambuscade, and attack the enemy.

As to him, at sun-rise, he drew up all his troops in battle, both horse and foot. At the same moment, Hannibal also gave his the signal of battle. They immediately flew to their arms, and hastily quitted their intrenchments, crossing the plain to

\* *Additis quinque manipulis. The Maniple formed two companies. The cohort consisted of three maniples. Every maniple was composed of six score men of the Hastati and Principes, and sixty only of the Triarii.*



A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

charge the enemy. Nero seeing that they advanced with more heat than order and discipline, commanded C. Aurunculejus to make the horse of the third legion move forwards, of which he was Tribune, with as much impetuosity as was possible against the Carthaginians, being assured, that dispersed as they were in the plain, it would be easy to break and defeat them, before they could draw up in order.

Hannibal had not quitted his camp, when he heard the cries of the soldiers engaged, and immediately advanced with all his troops. The horse, whom Nero had caused to act from the beginning, had already spread terror throughout the foremost of the Carthaginians. The first legion, and almost an equal body of the allies began also to fight. The Carthaginians in disorder came to blows with the Roman horse and foot, as chance brought them on on both sides. The reinforcements sent continually to support the most advanced, insensibly augmented the engagement and the disorder. Notwithstanding the confusion and terror of the Carthaginians, Hannibal, as an old and experienced captain, could have drawn up all his troops in battle, who were themselves capable of seconding his ability, from their long experience of war, if the cries of the Roman cohorts and companies, who charged him descending from the hill in the rear, had not made him apprehend that they would cut off his communication with his camp. And this entirely disconcerted the Carthaginians, and obliged them to fly on all sides.

The slaughter was the less, because the nearness of their camp afforded them an immediate refuge against the Roman cavalry, who pursued them with great vigour at their heels, whilst the troops that came down from the hill of an easy descent, had charged them in flank. However, they

they killed above eight thousand, and took seven hundred prisoners, with nine ensigns : and though the elephants had been of no use in a confused battle, as this was, four of them were killed and two taken. The victors lost only five hundred men, citizens and allies.

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

The next day Hannibal lay still in his camp. Nero drew up his army in battle : but seeing no enemy appear, he ordered them to gather the spoils of the enemy, and to lay the bodies of their fellow soldiers in an heap, in order to their interment. Several days successively the Consul advanced to the gates of the Carthaginian camp with so much boldness, that he seemed to intend to attack it ; till at length Hannibal, having caused abundance of fires to be kindled, and several tents to be pitched, in the part of his camp next the enemy, retired about midnight ; leaving a small number of Numidians, with orders to shew themselves at the gates and upon the intrenchments, whilst he with the rest of the army marched towards Apulia.

The next morning, the Roman army, as usual, advanced in order of battle. The Numidians having appeared for some time upon the works, as they had been ordered, to amuse the Romans, set out full speed to rejoin the gross of their army. The Consul perceiving a great silence in the camp of the Carthaginians, and that even those he had seen in the morning, going to and fro at the gates, had also disappeared, he sent in two of the horse, who having carefully examined all parts of it, brought back advice, that Hannibal had abandoned it entirely. The Consul then entered it with all his troops, and having given them only time to run over and plunder it, he made them return to his own camp before night.

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.  
*Second advantage of Nero over Hannibal*  
Liv. xxvii.  
42.

The next day, early in the morning, he set out ; and following the rout of the enemy by forced marches, he came up with them near Venusia, where he gave them battle again, and killed two thousand of the Carthaginians. Hannibal decamped from thence, and marching during the night only upon eminencies, to avoid coming to blows with the enemy, got to Metapontum. He immediately made Hanno, who commanded in that country, set out with a small detachment to make new levies in the country of the Bruttii ; and having joined the rest of that officer's troops with his own army, he returned the same way he came to Venusia, and from thence advanced as far as Canusium. Nero had continued to pursue him ; and when he marched towards Metapontum, he had made Q. Fulvius enter Lucania, not to leave that country without defence.

Hannibal now makes but a sad figure, very different from that he had made in the first year of the war. He had no resource left but the arrival of his brother, and he expected news from him with impatience.

*Asdrubal's letters to Hannibal intercepted.* Liv.  
xxvii. 43.

Asdrubal, after having been obliged to raise the siege of Placentia, had dispatched four Gaulish and two Numidian horse, with letters to Hannibal. Those soldiers, having successfully passed through the whole length of Italy, though always in the midst of enemies, when they were just upon the point of arriving, in endeavouring to join Hannibal, who was then retreating towards Metapontum, they were carried by ways they did not know as far as Tarentum. There they were taken by some foragers of the Roman army in the country, and brought to the Proprætor Q. Claudius. They at first endeavoured to elude his questions by evasive answers : but the fear of the torments, which he shewed to them, having soon forced them to speak



speak the truth, they confessed, that they were A. R. 545.  
 carrying letters to Hannibal from his brother As- Ant. C. 207.  
 drubal. Claudius, immediately sent these horse-  
 men to the Consul Nero under a good guard, and  
 made them deliver the letters to him sealed as  
 they were. He found by them that Asdrubal in-  
 tended to join his brother in Umbria; and was  
 further informed of the designs of that General by  
 the questions he asked the prisoners, and their  
 answers. But he was convinced that, in the pre- Bold design  
 sent Conjuncture, the Consuls ought not to con- formed by  
 tent themselves with making war after the customa- Nero.  
 ry manner, by each keeping within the bounds of his  
 own province, in order to oppose the enemy pre-  
 scribed him by the Senate. That it was necessary  
 to form some great, bold, new, and unforeseen  
 design; which would give no less terror to the  
 Romans than to the Carthaginians: but of which  
 the successful execution might change the alarms  
 of the first into a joy no less great than unexpected.  
 This design was to deceive Hannibal by leaving  
 his camp near him always in the same appearance,  
 so that he might believe the Consul present; to  
 march in person the whole length of Italy in order  
 to join his colleague, and overpower Asdrubal; and  
 afterwards to return into his camp, before Hanni-  
 bal should discover his absence.

Nero sent Asdrubal's letters to the Senate, with He sets out  
 advice of what he had resolved to do. He added to join Li-  
 several other precautions, which he thought proper vius his  
 to be taken in the present conjuncture. At the colleague.  
 same time he dispatched some horse into all the Liv. xxvii.  
 countries through which his army was to pass, 44.  
 with orders in his name to the inhabitants of the App. 343.  
 towns and countries, to prepare provisions for the  
 subsistence of his troops, with horses and other  
 carriage-beasts for the soldiers, who should be fa-  
 tigated

A. R. 545.  
Aat. C. 207.

tigued and incapable to march. As for him, he chose the best troops of his whole army, and of them formed a body of six thousand foot and a thousand horse, to whom he gave out, that his design was to attack a city of Lucania in the neighbourhood of his camp, and surprize the Carthaginian garrison in it; and ordered them to be ready to march on the first notice. He set out in the night, and took his rout by the way of Picenum, having left Q. Cassius one of his lieutenants to command in his absence.

*Alarm at  
Rome on  
the news  
of Nero's  
departure.*

The news of the Consul's design and departure occasioned no less consternation at Rome, than it had been in some years before, when Hannibal incamped before the gates of the city. They did not know whether to praise or blame so bold an undertaking. They thought, it was only to be judged of from the event; which is an evident injustice, but usual amongst men. “ They exaggerated the dangerous consequences of an enterprize, which seemed to give up a camp left without a General or forces as a prey to Hannibal; an enterprize which could succeed only in effect of deceiving the most vigilant and penetrating General that ever was. What would happen, should Hannibal be apprized of Nero's march, and should either resolve to pursue him with his whole army, or attack his camp left as a prey and without defence. They called to mind the dreadful defeats, which had brought the Roman power to the very brink of ruin; and that at that time, when they had only one General and one army to oppose; whereas now they had two Punic wars upon their hands, two great armies, and in a manner two Hannibals. For they equalled Asdrubal with his brother, and were even studious to find reasons for giving

A. R. 545.  
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“ ing him the preference. (a) And following the  
“ impressions of fear, which is always ingenious  
“ in placing things in the worst light, they mag-  
“ nified every thing in their thoughts as was in  
“ favour of the enemy, and on the contrary les-  
“ sened all that might give themselves hopes of  
“ success.”

In the mean time Nero had began his march. *Nero de-*  
At first he had not informed his foldiers, whither *clares his*  
he was leading them. When he was far enough *design to*  
on his way to make known his design to them *his troops.*  
without danger, he acquainted them with it, ad- *Liv. xxvii.*  
ding, “ That no enterprize was ever more danger- 45.  
“ ous in appearance, nor more safe in reality,  
“ That he led them to certain victory ; as his  
“ colleague’s army, being already formidable in  
“ itself, could not fail with the addition of a small  
“ reinforcement to be an over-match for the ene-  
“ my. That the surprize only with the unex-  
“ pected news of the arrival of a second Consul  
“ with an army in the moment of battle, sufficed  
“ to secure them the victory. That (b) in war  
“ all things depend upon report, and that the  
“ slightest circumstances often determine the reso-  
“ lution or fear of an army. That as for the rest,  
“ they would have the whole glory of a success,  
“ which mankind, according to their usual man-  
“ ner of judging, always entirely ascribe to those,  
“ who come last to the aid of others. That they  
“ themselves saw, with what ardour the several  
“ states through which they passed came out to  
“ meet them : That they heard the praises they

(a) Omnia majora etiam  
vero presidia hostium, minora  
sua, metu interprete semper  
in deteriora inclinatio, duce-  
bant. *Liv.*

(b) Famam bellum conse-  
cere, & parva momenta in  
spem metumque impellere ani-  
mos. *Liv.*

“ gave



A. R. 545.  
Aul. C. 207.

“ gave their valour, and the vows they made for  
“ their prosperity.”

*Nero ar-  
rives at  
the camp  
of Livius,  
and joins  
his troops  
with those  
of his col-  
league.  
Liv. xxvii.  
46.*

And accordingly, all the ways through which they passed were lined with crouds of men and women from all the adjacent countries, who mingled vows and prayers with praises ; extolling the bravery of the enterprize, and imploring the gods for their success. There was a kind of dispute in point of generosity between the people and the soldiers ; the former desiring to give with abundance, and the latter to receive nothing more than was necessary. In consequence, the courage and ardour of Nero's troops increasing perpetually, they arrived in six or seven days by forced marches near the camp of Livius. Nero had sent couriers before, to inform Livius of his approach, and to ask him, whether he thought it proper for him to join him in the day or in the night, and if they should incamp together, or separately. His colleague thought it best, that he should join him in the night. The better to amuse the enemy and conceal the arrival of this reinforcement ; it was resolved, that the camp of Livius should have no greater extent than before ; and that Nero's officers, horse and foot, should be received and lodged each with those of their own rank.

Nero's troops entered the camp with the favour of silence and the night. The joy of the two armies was mutual. The next day a council of war was held, at which the Prætor L. Porcius was present. He was incamped in the neighbourhood of the Consuls ; and even before their arrival, keeping his army upon eminences, he had sometimes faced the enemy in the narrow defiles to dispute their passage, sometimes attacked them in flank or rear, and had used all the methods the art of war suggests for a weaker enemy to harass one stronger and more powerful.

In

In the council most were of opinion, “ that the  
 “ battle should be deferred for some days, to give  
 “ Nero and his soldiers time to rest after their  
 “ fatigue. But Nero not only advised, but earn-  
 “ estly requested, that an enterprize, which ex-  
 “ pedition would render infallibly successful,  
 “ might not be rendered void, and rash, by delay.  
 “ He represented, that Hannibal, lulled by a  
 “ kind of charm, which could not continue long,  
 “ had neither followed him, nor attacked his  
 “ camp. That if they acted with diligence, they  
 “ might hope, that Asdrubal would be defeated,  
 “ and himself returned to his camp, before Han-  
 “ nibal made any movement. That to give the  
 “ enemy any time, was to abandon to Hannibal  
 “ the camp opposed to him, and to open him a  
 “ way for joining his brother. That therefore it  
 “ was necessary to give battle immediately, and  
 “ to take advantage of the error both of the ab-  
 “ sent and present enemy, who were equally  
 “ ignorant of the numbers and strength of those  
 “ they had to deal with ; the former believing  
 “ them greater, and the latter less, than they  
 “ really were.”

This opinion took place, and they quitted the  
 camp in order of battle. Asdrubal also on his side  
 prepared to engage. But as an able General,  
 whose vigilance nothing escapes, having observed  
 old shields, which he had not seen before, and  
 some horses more fatigued and lean than the rest,  
 and judging even by his eye, that the number of  
 the enemy was greater than ordinary, he caused  
 the retreat to be sounded, and returned into his  
 camp. He omitted nothing for clearing up his  
 doubts, and from the accounts brought in by those  
 he sent to scout, he knew, that the Consul’s camp  
 was not actually of greater extent than before, nor  
 that of the Prætor Porcius ; and this gave him  
 some

A. R. 545.  
 Ant. C. 207.

*Battle with Asdrubal. Entire defeat of his army. Himself is killed. Liv. xxvii. 47—49.*

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

some perplexity. But being informed, that the signal had been given but once in the camp of Porcius, and twice in that of the Consul ; that experienced captain, who had been accustomed to make war with the Romans, no longer doubted, but that the two Consuls had joined each other.

This gave him dreadful anxiety in respect to what had befallen his brother. He could not imagine, what was however very real, that so great a captain as Hannibal could be amused to such a degree, as not to know where the General and the army, he had to deal with, were. He concluded, that his brother must certainly have received some considerable blow, and he was much afraid, that he had come too late to his aid.

In these sad thoughts, he caused all the fires in his camp to be put out, and ordered his troops to decamp. In the disorder of a precipitate march in the night, his guides made their escape ; so that the army, which did not know the country, wandered at first at a venture through the lands ; and soon after most of the soldiers, overwhelmed with sleep and fatigue, abandoned their colours, and laid themselves down on both sides along the way. Asdrubal halted till it was light, ordered his troops to continue their march along the Metaurus, and did not advance far in effect of following the winding banks of that river, which he intended to pass as soon as he could ; but he could find no ford, which gave the enemy time to come up with him with their three armies.

All the united troops were drawn up in battle. Nero commanded the right, Livius the left, and the Prætor the main body. Asdrubal had began to seize an eminence not far from the river, with design to intrench himself there : but seeing it impossible to avoid a battle, he did all that could be  
expected



expected from the presence of mind and valour of a great Captain. He immediately occupied an advantageous post, and drew up his troops on a narrow ground, giving them more depth than breadth. He posted the elephants in the front, and placed the Gauls, who were the weakest part of his troops, on the left, where they were sustained by the eminence of which I have spoke. He took upon himself the command of the right wing with the Spaniards; old troops, in whom he reposed most confidence. And lastly, he posted the Ligurians in the centre immediately behind the elephants.

Asdrubal began the attack, fully determined to conquer or die on this occasion, and marched against the left wing of the Romans commanded by Livius. The battle was hottest here. On both sides old and very valiant troops, animated by the presence of the two Generals, fought with invincible obstinacy; and it was long before victory declared on either side.

The elephants had at first put the front of the centre of the Romans into some disorder: but afterwards, the cries raised by both sides, when the battle became more hot, terrified them to such a degree, that it was no longer possible to govern them, and they turned equally against the two armies.

Nero having made ineffectual endeavours to ascend the hill, which he had in front, and finding it impossible to come at the enemy on that side: *How!* said he to his troops, not being able to bear this inactivity any longer, *Are we come so far, and with so much diligence, to stand with our arms a cross, and to be meer spectators of a battle?* Upon this he immediately set out with the greatest part of the right wing, moving behind the rear of the army quite round it; charged the right wing  
of

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

of the Carthaginians obliquely ; and soon, extending his front, took the enemy in the rear. Hitherto the battle had been doubtful. But when the Spaniards, and soon after the Ligurians, saw themselves attacked at once in front, flanks, and rear, the defeat was total, and they were cut to pieces. The slaughter soon extended to the Gauls, who made still less resistance. Overcome with sleep and fatigue, under which all ancient writers observe that nation apt to sink easily, they could scarce support the weight of their bodies and arms : and as it was about noon, parched at once with heat and thirst, they suffered themselves to be killed or taken, without giving themselves the trouble to defend their lives and liberty.

More elephants were killed by their guides themselves than by the enemy. Those guides were each of them provided with a sharp-pointed knife and a mallet ; and when they saw those beasts grow mad, and they could manage them no longer, they drove in that knife with the mallet between the two ears in the place where the neck is joined to the head. This was the most certain and immediate way for killing them, when they became ungovernable ; and it was Asdrubal's invention.

That General this day added the highest glory to all the other great actions of his life. He led on his dismayed and trembling soldiers to a battle with an enemy that exceeded them both in number and resolution. He animated them by his words, he sustained them by his example, he employed prayers and threats to rally those who fled, till finding at length that victory declared entirely for the Romans, and not being able to survive so many thousand men, who had quitted their country to follow him, he threw himself into the midst  
of

of a Roman cohort, where he fell worthy of the son of Amilcar, and the brother of Hannibal. A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

This battle was the bloodiest of all this war, and both by the General's death, and the slaughter made of the Carthaginian troops, it was a kind of reprisal for the defeat of Cannæ; and Appian App. 343: observes, that it was to console, and make the Romans amends for that terrible loss, that God granted them so considerable an advantage on this occasion. Fifty-six thousand of the enemy were killed in this battle, and five thousand four hundred taken prisoners. Above four thousand citizens, who were prisoners to the Carthaginians, were re-taken; which was a consolation for the loss of those who had been killed in this battle. For this victory cost the Romans dear enough, as they bought it by the loss of eight thousand of their troops, who were killed upon the spot. The victors were so weary of killing and shedding blood, that the next day, when somebody told Livius, that it was easy to cut a body of the enemy that were flying to pieces: *No, no*, replied the General, *let some of them be left to carry home the news of their defeat, and our victory.*

Nero, the night after the battle, set out to return to his army; and returning with more diligence than he came, after six days march, he re-entered the camp he had left near Hannibal. He did not find so many people upon his route, because he had sent no couriers before him. Those who met him, were transported with a joy they could not contain. Nero re-  
turns to  
his army.  
Liv. xlvii.  
50.

But what is difficult to express, or almost to imagine, is the various passions of the Roman citizens, as well during their uncertainty of the event, as when they had received the news of the victory. As soon as they were informed of the departure of Nero, the Senators went early every day



A. R. 545.  
A. C. 207.

into the Senate with the Magistrates, and the People filled the Forum ; and nobody returned home till night, so much were they engrossed by their concern for the publick affairs. The Ladies expressed their zeal for the good of their country, by crowding all the temples, and continually offering prayers and vows to the Gods. These Pagans teach us, how much and in what manner we ought to concern ourselves for the preservation of the State.

*The news  
of the vi-  
ctory occa-  
sioned incre-  
dible joy at  
Rome.*

Whilst the whole city was thus divided between hope and fear, a report, confused and uncertain enough, spread at Rome, that two of the horse who had been in the battle, were arrived in the camp which had been pitched at the entrance of Umbria, and had brought advice of the defeat of the enemy. This news seemed to be too important to be believed on slight grounds, and nobody dared flatter themselves, that it was true. Soon after a letter arrived from L. Manlius Acidinus of the camp at Umbria, which confirmed the arrival of the two horse, and their report. This letter was carried a-cross the publick place to the Prætor's tribunal ; and every body ran with so much ardour to the gates of the Senate, that the courier could not approach it, every one stopping him to ask questions, and demanding with great cries, that the letter should be read in the tribunal of harangues before it was carried to the Senate. The Magistrates found it difficult to disperse the throng, and to make the eagerness and ardour of the People give place to the order and decency it was necessary to observe. The letter was read first in the Senate, and then in the assembly of the People ; and it made different impressions upon the citizens, according to the difference of their dispositions. For some, without waiting in the least, gave themselves up to all the transports of  
excessive

excessive joy : others refused to give credit to it, till they should see the Consul's messengers arrive, and heard their letters read. A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

At length news came, that those deputies were upon the point of arriving : Upon which all the citizens, old and young, ran with equal ardor to meet them, every (a) one ardently desiring to be the first in knowing such grateful news, and to be assured of it by the evidence of his own eyes and ears. They filled the ways as far as the bridge \* Milvius. The deputies arrived in the Forum surrounded with an infinite multitude of all orders of the People, who addressed themselves either to them, or their followers, to know what had passed : and in proportion as they were informed, that the General of the enemy was killed, and his whole army cut to pieces ; that the Consuls were alive, and that their legions had sustained no very considerable loss ; they immediately ran to impart the excess of their joy to others. The deputies arrived not without sufficient difficulty at the Senate ; and it was still with greater, that the People were prevented from entering along with them, and mingling with the Senators. The letters having been read before them, were carried into the Assembly of the People, to whom they also read them. L. Veturius, one of the deputies, afterwards gave a particular relation of what had passed ; and his account was followed with such cries of joy and applauses of the whole People, as it would be difficult to express.

The citizens immediately quitted the Forum ; some to thank the Gods in the temples for so great a blessing ; and others to go home to inform their

(a) Primus quisque auribus oculisque haurire tantum gaudium cupientes. *Liv.* \* Now called *Ponti Mola*, at about a league from Rome.

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

wives and children of so extraordinary and unexpected a success. The Senate decreed publick thanksgivings for three days, in gratitude for the signal victory gained over the Carthaginians by the Consuls Livius and Nero. The Prætor C. Hostilius proclaimed these processions in the assembly of the People, at which were present great multitudes of both sexes.

Plin.  
xxxiii. 3.

This victory occasioned a salutary revolution in the Commonwealth, and from thenceforth the citizens began again to make contracts, to buy, sell, borrow, and pay, as is customary in times of profound peace. It was in this year, according to Pliny, that gold species were first coined at Rome.

*Asdrubal's head thrown into the camp of Hannibal. He retires to the extremity of Bruttium.*  
Liv. xxvii. 51.

Whilst all this passed, the Consul Nero arrived in his camp. Asdrubal's head, which was thrown into that of the Carthaginians, informed that General of his brother's fate. Two of the prisoners, whom the Consul had caused to go to his camp, gave him a particular account of what had passed at the battle of the Metaurus. Hannibal, terrified with news equally fatal to his country and family, cried out, that *by this blow he knew the fate of Carthage*. Horace puts words into his mouth, which very well express his sentiments. (a) *It is over: I shall now send superb couriers no more to Carthage. In losing Asdrubal, I lose all hope, and all good fortune.* He decamped that moment, and retired to the extremity of Bruttium, where he drew together all the troops he had, being no longer in a condition to keep them separate from each other as before. At the same time he ordered all the peo-

(a) Carthagini jam non ego nuncios  
Mittam superbos. Occidit, occidit  
Spes omnis & fortuna nostri  
Nominis, Asdrubale interempto.

Hor. Od. iv. l. 4

ple



ple of Metapontum to quit their city, and all the Lucanians who were in his party, to abandon their country, and to join him in that of the Bruttii.

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

Though there had been some interval between the victory and the triumph of the Consuls, I shall repeat at large what relates to this triumph, to avoid interrupting the thread of so affecting a part of history, and which we clearly perceive Livy has laboured with particular attention, and, if we may be allowed to use the expression, with a kind of complacency.

*Triumph  
of Livius  
and Nero.  
Liv. xxviii.  
9.*

Towards the end of the campaign, the two Consuls were permitted to return to Rome, with this difference however, that Livius marched back his troops, which were no longer necessary in Gaul; whereas those of Nero had orders to remain in the province, to oppose the designs of Hannibal. The two Consuls by letters to each other, agreed, that in order to keep up to the end the good understanding they had hitherto observed with each other, they should regulate their departure from two provinces so remote so as to arrive at Rome at the same time, and that he who should first come to \* Præneste, should stay there for his colleague. They happened both to come thither the same day. From thence they dispatched a courier to Rome, with an order to the Senate to assemble three days after in the temple of Bellona.

Having set out on the day fixed, they found, on approaching the city, that the People were come in a body to meet them. They advanced towards the temple of Bellona, surrounded by that infinite multitude, each, not contented with saluting, but eagerly pressing to approach them, and to kiss their victorious hands. Some congratula-

\* Now called Palestrina, a city in the territory of the church.

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A. D. C. 207.

ted them upon their victory : others thanked them for the important service they had rendered the Commonwealth, in delivering it from the exceeding danger, which had menaced it. After they had given an account to the Senate of their conduct according to the custom of all their Generals, they first demanded “ that solemn thanksgivings should  
“ be paid to the Gods for the valour with which  
“ they had inspired them in this war, and for the  
“ good success they had vouchsafed them ; and,  
“ in the second place, that they should be permitted to enter the city in triumph.” All the Senators replied with one voice, “ that it was with  
“ extreme joy they granted their demand, being  
“ full of the warmest gratitude for so glorious a  
“ success, for which Rome was indebted in the  
“ first place to the protection of the Gods, and  
“ next to them, to the courage and wisdom of the  
“ Consuls.”

We are going to see in these two Generals an uncommon example of union and concord. As they had acted in perfect concert in the battle and after the victory, they would also shew the same concert in the triumph. But, because the action had passed in the province of Livius ; and the auspices and command had been his upon the day of battle ; and his army had returned to Rome with him, whereas Nero had left his in the province ; they agreed that the first should enter the city in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, attended by his army, and the latter should be only on horseback without any train.

The triumph thus regulated still augmented the glory of both Consuls ; but especially of him, who, though superior in merit, so generously gave up all the honours to his colleague. Accordingly the people were unanimous in bestowing the whole praise upon Nero. They said, “ That  
“ he,

“ he, whom they saw on horseback without pomp  
 “ or train, had in six days marched the whole  
 “ length of Italy, and had fought Asdrubal in  
 “ Gaul at the very time that Hannibal believed  
 “ him incamped near himself in Apulia. That  
 “ (a) thus the same Consul on one day, and at  
 “ the two extremities of Italy, had made head  
 “ against the two most formidable enemies of the  
 “ commonwealth, by opposing one with his pru-  
 “ dence, and the other with his person. That  
 “ on one side the name of Nero had sufficed to  
 “ awe Hannibal: and who could doubt, on the  
 “ other, but that the victory gained over Asdru-  
 “ bal was to be ascribed to the reinforcement of  
 “ the same Nero, who by his sudden arrival had  
 “ daunted and crushed the Carthaginian General?  
 “ That the other Consul might cause himself  
 “ to be drawn in a magnificent chariot, with a still  
 “ greater number of horses; that it was that single  
 “ horse which carried the true triumpher; and  
 “ that Nero, though he should even go on foot,  
 “ would be for ever memorable, as well by the  
 “ glory he had acquired in this war, as by that he  
 “ had despised in the triumph.” During the  
 whole time of the march to the Capitol, the  
 People held discourses of this kind in respect to  
 Nero, and incessantly kept their eyes upon him.

The money which had been taken from the  
 enemy, and amounted, according to Polybius, to

<p>(a) Ita unum Consulem pro              utraque parte Italiae adversus              duos duces, duos imperatores,              hinc consilium suum, hinc              corpus opposuisse. Nomen              Neronis satis fuisse ad continen-              dum castris Annibalem: As-              drubalem vero, qua alia re,              quam adventu ejus, obrutum</p>	<p>atque extinctum esse? Itaque              iret alter Consul sublimis cur-              ru multijugis, si vellet, equis.              Uno equo per urbem verum              triumphum vehi: Neronem-              que, etiam si pedes incedat vel              parta eo bello, vel spreta eo              triumpho gloria, memorabilem              fore. <i>Liv.</i></p>
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above three<sup>h</sup> hundred talents (about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds) was carried into the public treasury. Livius gave each of his soldiers fourteen sesterces (about eighteen pence) and Nero promised as much to his, when he returned to his army.

It was observed, that on the day of triumph, the soldiers, which were those of Livius, celebrated Nero in their songs much more than their own General: that the cavalry gave a thousand praises to L. Veturius and Q. Cæcilius, the Consuls lieutenants, and exhorted the People to elect them Consuls for the ensuing year. The Consuls themselves confirmed this favourable testimony of the Horse, by extolling in the assembly of the People, the services of those two officers, whose valour and zeal had greatly contributed to the victory.

*Reflexions  
upon Nero's  
enterprize,  
and the  
conduct of  
Livius.*

In the important action, which we have just related, that is, in the defeat of Asdrubal, which had such great consequences, and which, probably speaking, determined the fate of the second punic war: both the Consuls make a very great and glorious figure, and in my opinion, if we were to take party with either the one or the other, it would be very difficult to know to which to give the preference. The boldness of the design formed by Nero, the singularity of the enterprize, with the good success that followed it, carry with them a lustre, that strikes, amazes, and forces all suffrages in his favour. Accordingly we see in their triumph, tho' Livius appeared alone in the shew, the Army and People declared for Nero; all eyes were fixed upon his person, and the praises and applauses were principally lavished in his favour.

But is this bold project, which so much excites admiration really laudable in itself, and separately from the dazzling lustre that surrounds it after the event? The alarm of the Romans, whilst Nero  
was

was upon his march to join his colleague, were they ill founded, and were they in the wrong to incline to accuse a General, who in some measure gave up his army and camp a prey to the enemy, by leaving them without an Head, and deprived of the best part of their strength? And was it probable, that so active and vigilant a warrior as Hannibal, should continue for above twelve days dozing to such a degree, as not to perceive in any manner the departure and absence of the Consul?

We must own that, if there was any temerity in this, the success, however happy, could neither cover nor excuse the fault of the General. But this judgment cannot be passed on Nero's enterprize. It is not so wonderful, that Hannibal did not know of the departure of the Consul's troops, or was not much moved with it. A General every day sends out greater or smaller detachments from his army, which have no consequence. This was not very considerable. Seven thousand men out of an army of above forty thousand, could not weaken it so much, as to make it incapable of defending itself. He left officers there, whose ability and courage he knew, and whom he also knew to be highly capable of commanding in chief. Besides which, three or four bodies of Roman troops, that surrounded Hannibal on all sides, sufficed to prevent him from making any great progress in the Consul's absence, even though he had discovered it. Add to this, that that General, who saw his forces much diminished by the several blows which he had received, seemed to be become less active and bold in respect to attacking. It was therefore with reason, that the enterprize of Nero, which so much contributed to the victory, was generally admired. I should be highly in the wrong, if I took upon me to justify several other actions of his life.

On

A. R. 545.

Ann. C. 207.

On another side, the conduct of Livius is no less worthy of admiration. Every body knows, how jealous the Roman Generals, even the wisest of them, were of the glory of terminating alone, and by themselves, an enterprize or war which they had began, and how much they apprehended the coming of a rival to deprive them of it, or even to share it with them. Livius lets nothing of this weakness usual to the greatest men appear, or rather of this delicacy in point of glory and honour. He was in a condition to stop and conquer Asdrubal by himself, or at least he might flatter himself that he was. However, he sees his colleague without jealousy, a little before his declared enemy, come to divide the honour of the victory. His reconciliation must have been very sincere, and his zeal for the good of his country very warm and predominant, entirely to suppress in his heart a sensibility so natural to man, and especially to a soldier. We also see from this, how little probability there is for the rough answer to Fabius put into his mouth.



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## BOOK THE NINETEENTH.

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T H E

# ROMAN HISTORY.

**T**HIS book contains the history of four years : 545, 546, 547, 548. Its principal subjects are the expeditions of Scipio in Spain, the first war of the Romans against Philip king of Macedonia, the election of Scipio for Consul, and the design he forms of carrying the war into Africa.

### S E C T. I.

*State of the affairs of Spain. Silanus defeats two bodies of enemies one immediately after the other, and takes Hanno one of the Generals prisoner. Oringis in Bætica taken by L. Scipio. P. Scipio retires to Tarraco. The Roman fleet, after having ravaged Africa, beats that of the Carthaginians. Treaty concluded between the Romans and some other States against Philip. Philip gains some advantages against the Ætolians. Sulpicius flies before that prince; and the latter, in his turn, flies before Sulpicius. The Romans and Philip take the field. Attalus and Sulpicius attack and take Oreum. Sulpicius is obliged to raise the siege of Chalcis. Description of the Euripus. Attalus is almost surprized by Philip. That Prince returns  
into*

into Macedonia. The Ætolians make peace with that Prince, in which the allies on both sides are included. Provinces of the new Consuls. The sacred fire in the temple of Vesta extinguished. Cultivation of the lands reinstated in Italy. Praise of Hannibal. Praise of Scipio. Reflexion of Livy upon the affairs of Spain. Scipio gains a great victory over the Carthaginians commanded by Asdrubal and Mago. Scipio returns to Tarraco. Masinissa joins the Romans. Scipio seeks the amity of Syphax, goes to him in Africa, and meets Asdrubal there. Scipio besieges and takes Illiturgis, and entirely demolishes it. Castulon surrenders, and is treated with less severity. Games and combats of Gladiators given by Scipio, in honour of his father and uncle. Horrid resolution of the inhabitants of Astapa. They are all killed. Enterprize against Cadiz. Sickness of Scipio, which gives occasion for a sedition. Revolt of the Romans incamped at Sucro. Scipio uses infinite address in appeasing and punishing the sedition.

A. R. 45.  
Ant. C. 207.

C. CLAUDIUS NERO.  
M. LIVIUS II.

State of  
affairs in  
Spain.  
Liv. xxviii.  
1.

WE have seen the effect produced by the death of Asdrubal, in Italy : we now come to the situation of the affairs of the Romans and Carthaginians. Asdrubal the son of Gisgo had retired into Bœtica. The coasts of the Mediterranean, and all the eastern part of the province, were occupied by Scipio's troops, and subjected to the Romans. Hanno, who was come from Africa with a new army to succeed Asdrubal the son of Amilcar, having joined Mago, entered Celtiberia, which is in the middle of the country, where he soon saw himself at the head of a powerful army.

Scipio

Scipio detached M. Silanus against him with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse. The latter marched with so much diligence, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ways, that he arrived very near the enemy before they had any news of his march. He was but ten thousand paces from them, when he was informed by Celtiberian deserters, who had served him as guides, that he was not far from the way, through which he must pass by two armies of the enemy: the one upon the left, commanded by Mago, and composed of nine thousand new-raised Celtiberians, who scarce observed any discipline; the other upon the right, entirely consisting of warlike and well disciplined Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno. Silanus was not long in resolving. He ordered his troops to incline as much as possible to the left, and to avoid shewing themselves to the enemy's advanced guards. They were but a thousand paces distant, when the Celtiberians at length saw them, and began to move, but with abundance of consternation and disorder. Silanus had made his army refresh themselves with eating, and drew them up in battle. Mago, on the first noise he heard, ran immediately, and drew up the troops in battle as well as he could. They came to blows. The Celtiberians made no great resistance, and were cut to pieces. The Carthaginians, who upon the news of the battle, were come from the other camp, and had made exceeding haste, in order to arrive in time to their aid, had the same fate. Hanno their General was taken with such of the Carthaginians who arrived last, and found their companions defeated. Almost the whole cavalry, and what remained of the old infantry, followed Mago in his flight, and in ten days joined Asdrubal in the province of Cadiz. But the Celtiberian

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.  
*Silanus defeats two bodies of the enemy soon after each other, and takes Hanno one of their Generals prisoner.*  
Liv. xxviii. 1, 2.



A. R. 545.  
A. D. C. 207.

an new-raised forces, dispersed themselves in the forests, and from thence returned home.

By this victory opportunely gained, Silanus put a stop to intrigues which were not considerable in their birth, but might be the source of a very dangerous war, if the Carthaginians, after having armed the Celtiberians, had been given time to make the other neighbouring nations also take arms. It was for this reason Scipio gave him all the praises, which his diligence and valour deserved; and not to frustrate the hope this success gave him of soon terminating the war, he set out immediately for the extremities of Spain in quest of Asdrubal, the only enemy that remained for him to conquer.

That Carthaginian General was then incamped in Bœtica, to keep the states of that country who were the allies of the Carthaginians, in their party. But having received advice of Scipio's design, he decamped with a precipitation, which rather resembled a flight than a retreat, and took refuge upon the coast of the ocean near Cadiz. And as he was assured, that as long as he kept his troops in one body, he should be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, he distributed his soldiers into different cities, the walls of which would defend their persons, as their persons would the walls.

*Oringis in  
Bœtica  
taken by  
Scipio.*

Liv. xxviii.

3, 4.

Scipio judging that the places, in which the enemy had shut themselves up, would cost him little pains indeed to take them, but much time, resolved to march back into Hispania Citerior, that is, on this side of the Iberus. However, not to leave this Country absolutely at the discretion of the Carthaginians, he sent his brother L. Scipio with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, to besiege Oringis, the most opulent city of the country. It did not make a long defence. The inhabitants, fearing that the Romans, if they took the place

place by storm, would put all to the sword, without regard either to Spaniards or Carthaginians, opened the gates. All the Carthaginians were put in chains, with three hundred of the inhabitants, who had used their utmost endeavours to frustrate the design of their countrymen. Their city, estates, and liberty were restored to the rest. At the taking of this place about two thousand of the enemy were killed: the Romans did not lose above ninety men.

This conquest gave great joy to L. Scipio and his troops, and did them great honour when they rejoined their General and his army, with a croud of prisoners before them, whom they had taken in this expedition. P. Scipio gave his brother all the praises he deserved, speaking in the most honourable terms of the taking of Oringis, the glory of which he equalled to what he had acquired himself in the conquest of Carthage. But as winter approached, and he had not time enough to attempt Cadiz, or to march in pursuit of the dispersed parties of Asdrubal's army, he returned with all his troops into Hispania Citerior; and having put them into winter-quarters, and made his brother set out for Rome with Hanno, and the most considerable of the Carthaginian prisoners, he went himself to Tarraco.

*Scipio returns to Tarraco.*

This same year the Roman fleet, commanded by the Proconsul M. Valerius Lævinus, sailed from Sicily to Africa, and made great ravages in the territory of Carthage, and even round the walls of Utica. As it returned to Sicily, it met that of the Carthaginians, composed of seventy ships of war. This fleet it attacked, and took seventeen galleys and sunk four. The rest were put to flight. The Roman General having beaten the enemy in this manner both by sea and land, returned to Lilybæum, with considerable spoils of all kinds.

*The Roman fleet after having ravaged Africa beats that of the Carthaginians.*  
Liv. xxviii.

And

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

And as there was no longer any enemy upon that sea, he sent very considerable convoys of corn from Sicily to Rome.

*Treaty con-  
cluded be-  
tween the  
Romans  
and some  
other States  
against  
Philip.  
Polyb. ix.  
561—571.*

In the preceding volume we spoke of a treaty, concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians against Philip King of Macedonia. Several other States and Kings had been invited to accede to it. Attalus King of Pergamus, Pleurates and Scerdiledes, both Kings, the one of Thrace, and the other of Illyricum, accepted this invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to do the same. Their deputy represented in a lively manner to the Lacedæmonians all the oppressions, with which the Kings of Macedonia had loaded them ; and especially the design they had always had, and still retained, of subverting the liberty of Greece. He concluded with demanding, that the Lacedæmonians should persevere in the alliance they had anciently made with the Ætolians : that they should enter into the treaty concluded with the Romans, or that they should continue neuter.

Lyciscus, deputy from the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared openly for the Macedonians. He expatiated upon the services “ that Philip  
“ Alexander’s father, and Alexander himself, had  
“ done Greece in attacking and ruining the Per-  
“ sians, who were its most ancient and most inve-  
“ terate enemies. He dwelt upon the shame and  
“ danger of suffering Barbarians to enter Greece ;  
“ so he called the Romans. He added, that the  
“ wisdom of the Spartans ought to foresee the  
“ storm at a distance which began to gather  
“ in the West, and would undoubtedly break out ;  
“ at first upon Macedonia, and afterwards upon  
“ all Greece, of which it would occasion the  
“ ruin.”

The fragment of Polybius, in which this deliberation is related, does not mention the consequence



quence of it. The sequel of the history shews, that Sparta joined the Ætolians, and entered into the common treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and contests, that rose to the utmost violence, occasioned great troubles in the city. The one was hot for the interests of Philip, and the other openly declared against him. The latter prevailed. We find Machanidas at the head of the latter, and that taking advantage of the disorders of the Commonwealth, he made himself master of it, and became its tyrant. The allies were intent upon making immediate use of the augmentation of forces, which the new treaty gave them by the union of several States.

Attalus I. King of Pergamus did the Romans great service in the war against Philip. This little sovereignty had been founded somewhat above forty years before the time of which we speak, by Phileteres, an officer highly esteemed for his valour and conduct. Lyfimachus, one of the successors of Alexander, intrusted him with the treasure he had laid up in the castle of Pergamus. After the death of Lyfimachus, he continued in possession of the treasure and city. At his death he left them to his nephew Eumenes I. who augmented his principality with some cities that he took from the Kings of Syria. Attalus I. his cousin succeeded him, of whom we now speak. He assumed the title of King, after having conquered the Galatians, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

*Origin of  
Attalus  
king of  
Pergamus.*

I am going to relate the whole of this war of the Romans and their allies against Philip, in resuming it from the Consulship of Marcellus and Crispinus, where we left it, till the peace concluded in the Consulship of Scipio and Craffus. I shall in consequence not be obliged to interrupt the history

A. R. 545. of the war with Hannibal, which is our principal  
Ant. C. 207. object, with facts of much less importance.

A. R. 548. Machanidas was one of the first that took the  
Ant. C. 204. field. He entered the territory of the Achæans  
*Philip* with his troops, which bordered upon those of  
*gains some* Sparta. The Achæans and their allies sent depu-  
*advantage* ties to Philip, and pressed him to come into  
*against the* Greece to assist and defend them. The Ætolians  
*Ætolians.* under Pyrrhias, who had been this year elected  
Liv. xxvii. General jointly with Attalus, advanced to meet  
39. him as far as Lamia. Pyrrhias had with him the  
troops that Attalus and Sulpicius had sent him.  
Philip beat him twice, and the Ætolians were  
obliged to shut themselves up within the walls of  
Lamia. Philip retired to \* Phalara with his  
army.

*Sulpicius*  
*flee before*  
*Philip.*  
Liv. xxvii.  
30, 31.

He set out from thence to repair to Argos, where the Nemæan games were upon the point of being solemnized, and at which he was very well pleased to be present. Whilst he was employed in celebrating these games, Sulpicius having set out from † Naupactus, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, ravaged the whole flat country, Philip, upon this news, left the games, marched immediately against the enemy, and coming up with them laden with booty, he put them to flight, and pursued them to their ships. On returning to the games, he was received with general applause; and the more, because he quitted his diadem and purple robe, and mingled with the common citizens; a sight highly grateful and soothing to free States. But it was not long before his enormous debauches rendered him as odious, as his popular behaviour had made him amiable.

\* *A city of Thessaly.*

† *In the gulf of Corinth, now called Lepanto.*

Some days after the celebration of the games, Philip advanced as far as the city of \* Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. The first day he ravaged the adjacent country: he then approached the city in order of battle, and made some bodies of horse advance to the gates, to induce the Ætoliens to make a falley. They accordingly did so. But Philip was surprized to see Roman troops amongst them. Sulpicius having set out from Naupactus with fifteen galleys, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. The battle was rude. Demopphantus, the General of the Elean cavalry, having perceived Philopæmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks impetuously against him. The latter waited his coming on, and with his spear laid him at his horse's feet. Upon the fall of Demopphantus, his cavalry fled. On another side, the Elean infantry fought with advantage. The King seeing his troops began to give way, spurred his horse into the midst of the Roman infantry. His horse, wounded with a javelin, threw him. The battle then became exceeding hot, both sides exerting themselves in an extraordinary manner; the Romans to seize Philip, and the Macedonians to save him. The King signalized his courage on this occasion, having been obliged to fight a great while on foot in the midst of the horse. A great slaughter was made in this battle. At length having been brought off by his troops, and remounted, he retreated, and incamped five miles from thence. The next day he attacked a castle, to which a great multitude of peasants had retired with their cattle, and took four thousand prisoners, and twenty thousand great and small cattle: a poor advan-

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207<sup>1</sup>

Plut. in  
Philop.  
360.

\* *A city of Peloponnesus.*



A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

tage, that could not make him amends for the disgrace he had just received at Elis.

At this instant he received advice, that the Barbarians had made an irruption into Macedonia. He set out immediately to defend his country, leaving two thousand five hundred men of his armies with his allies. Sulpicius retired with his fleet to \* Ægina, where he joined King Attalus, and passed the winter.

*The Romans and Philip take the field.*  
Liv. xxviii. 5.

As soon as the spring began, the Proconsul Sulpicius and King Attalus quitted Ægina, and repaired \*\* to Lemnos with their fleets, which together made sixty sail. Philip, on his side, in order to be in a condition to face the enemy both by sea and land, advanced to † Demetrias. The ambassadors of the allies came thither from all parts to implore his aid in their present great danger. He heard them favourably, and promised them all to send them aid, according as time and occasion should require. In consequence he did so, and sent different bodies of troops into different places, to cover them against the attacks of the enemy: after which he returned to Demetrias. And in order to be in readiness to assist such of his allies as should be attacked, he established beacons in Phocis, Eubœa, and the small island of ‖ Peparethus; and on his side placed guards on Tisæus, a very high mountain of Thessaly, to watch them, in order to be speedily apprized of the march of the enemy, and of the places they intended to attack.

Anc. Hist. Vol. VIII. I have repeated elsewhere with some extent what Polybius writes concerning signals by fire; which is very curious.

\* *A small island in the gulf of Saronica.*

\*\* *Stalimene now, an island of the Archipelago.*

† *A city of Thessaly in Magnesia.*

‖ *A small island in the Ægean sea near Thessaly.*

The Proconsul and King Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and formed the siege of Oreum, which is one of the principal cities. It had two citadels very strongly fortified, and could make a long defence: but Plator, who commanded in it, for Philip, surrendered it treacherously to the besiegers. He purposely made the signals too late, that the succours might not arrive in time. It was not the same at Chalcis, which Sulpicius had besieged immediately after the taking of Oreum. The signals there were made in time, and the Governor, who would not hearken to the Proconsul, prepared for making a good defence. Sulpicius saw plainly that he had made a vain attempt, and he was so prudent to renounce it that instant. The city was very well fortified of itself, and besides situated upon the Euripus, the famous strait, where the sea does not ebb and flow seven certain and periodical times a day, says Livy, according to vulgar report; but where that alternate motion is much more frequent, and the waves are tossed sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other with such violence, that they seem like torrents falling from the tops of mountains without order and innumerably; so that ships can at no time have either rest or safety there.

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.  
*Attalus  
and Sul-  
picius be-  
siege  
Oreum.*

*Sulpicius  
is obliged  
to raise  
the siege of  
Chalcis.*

*Descripti-  
on of the  
Euripus.*

Attalus besieged Opuns, a city of the Locrians, situated not far from the sea. Philip used extraordinary diligence to aid it, having marched in one day above sixty miles. The city was just taken, when he approached, and he would have surprized Attalus, who was plundering it, if the latter being apprized of his arrival, had not retired with precipitation. Philip pursued him to the sea-coast.

*Attalus  
very near  
being sur-  
prized by  
Philip.  
Liv. xxviii.  
7.*

Attalus having retired to Oreum, and being informed that Prusias King of Bithynia had entered his dominions, he returned to Asia, as Sulpicius

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

did to the island Ægina. Philip, after having taken several small places, and frustrated the design of Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, who intended to attack the Eleans, whilst employed in preparing for the celebration of the Olympic games, repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at \* Egium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own ; but he that commanded it having been advised that Attalus and the Romans were set out from Oreum, he retired, for fear they should come to attack him.

*Philip returns into Macedonia.*  
Liv. xxviii.  
8.

Philip (*a*) saw with great anguish, that whatever diligence he used, he never arrived in time to execute his designs ; fortune, said he, taking pleasure in eluding all his endeavours, to frustrate all occasions even before his eyes, and to deprive him of all advantages just when he was upon the point of seizing them. He however hid his grief from the assembly, and spoke in it with an air of resolution and confidence. Having called the Gods and men to witness, that he had not let slip any occasion for marching on all sides in quest of the enemy ; he added, (*b*) that it was hard to judge, whether he had shewn more boldness in seeking them, than they had speed in flying from him. That this was tacitly owning on their side they thought themselves inferior to him in strength ; but that he was in hopes of gaining a compleat victory over them soon, which would be an evident proof of it. This discourse very much revived the courage of the allies. After having given the necessary orders, and performed some

\* *A town of Achaia properly so called.*

(*a*) Philippus mærebat &angebatur, cum ad omnia ipse raptim isset nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisse ; & raptentem omnia ex oculis eluisse

celeritatem suam fortunam.  
*Liv.*

(*b*) Vix rationem iniri posse, utrum ab se audacius ; an fugacius ab hostibus geratur bellum. *Liv.*

flight



flight expeditions, he returned into Macedonia, to carry on the war there against the Dardani-  
nians.

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 207.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

P. LICINUS CRASSUS.

A year had passed, during which the Romans, intent on more important affairs, had but little re-  
garded the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians, see-  
ing themselves neglected on that side, which was  
their sole resource, made their peace with Philip.  
The treaty was scarce concluded, when the Pro-  
consul P. Sempronius arrived with ten thousand  
foot, a thousand horse, and five and thirty ships  
of war, which was a considerable aid. He was  
highly displeased at their having concluded this  
peace without the consent of the Romans, contrary  
to the express sense of the treaty of alliance.

*The Æto-  
lians make  
peace with  
Philip.  
Liv. xxix.  
12.*

However he did not insist upon continuing the  
war ; and the People of Epirus, who also desired  
an end of it, being informed of his disposition,  
sent deputies to Philip, who was returned into  
Macedonia, to induce him to conclude a general  
peace, giving him to understand, they were in a  
manner assured, that if he would consent to have  
an interview with Sempronius, they would easily  
agree upon the conditions. The King accepted  
this proposal with joy, and repaired to Epirus.  
As both sides desired peace, Philip to put the af-  
fairs of his kingdom in order, and the Romans to  
be in a condition to carry on the war with more  
vigour against Carthage, the treaty was soon con-  
cluded. It was agreed, that three or four cities,  
or little States, of Illyricum should continue in  
the hands of the Romans, and \* Atintania in

*The Ro-  
mans also  
make peace  
with Phi-  
lip ; in  
which the  
allies on  
both sides  
are in-  
cluded.  
Liv. ibid.*

\* In Macedonia near Epirus.

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Ant. C. 205.

those of Philip, in case the Senate should consent to it. The King caused Prusias King of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bæotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirus to be included in the treaty; the Romans on their side included in it the people of Ilium, King Attalus, Pleurates, Nabis tyrant of Sparta, who had succeeded Machanidas, the Elians, Messenians, and Athenians. The Roman people ratified the treaty, because they were glad to rid the Commonwealth of all other difficulties, in order to turn their whole forces against Africa. Thus terminated this war of the allies by a peace, which was not of long duration.

I resume the thread of the history of the war with Hannibal, which I have interrupted a little to relate the sequel of that with Philip.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

L. VETURIUS.

Q. CÆCILIVS.

*Provinces  
of the  
Consuls.*  
Liv. xxviii.  
11.

We are now in the thirteenth year of the second Punic war. The two Consuls had Bruttium (Calabria ulterior) for their province, and were both to act against Hannibal. All those who were to command had their provinces also assigned them.

*Extinction  
of the fire  
in the tem-  
ple of Vesta.*  
Liv. ibid.

All the prodigies, which were then very numerous, did not occasion so much dread and alarm, as the going out of the fire in the temple of Vesta. The Vestal, by whose negligence this misfortune had happened, was scourged with rods by order of the Pontifex Maximus P. Licinius, and particular prayers were made to the gods upon this occasion to expiate their wrath.

*Cultiva-  
tion of  
lands re-  
established  
in Italy.*  
Liv. ibid.

Before the Consuls took the field, the Senate instructed them to recal those who had abandoned their lands in the countries, and to reinstate agriculture.

culture. What rendered this re-establishment difficult, was the war's having carried off most of the free people who applied themselves to husbandry ; there not being a sufficient number of slaves to supply their places ; and the cattle having been taken away, and the farms either ruined or burnt in many places. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the authority of the Consuls replaced a great number of inhabitants in their countries.

As soon as the spring began, the Consuls set out to take upon them the command of their armies. They marched into Lucania, which they reduced to return to its obedience to the Roman People, without being obliged to employ the force of arms.

This year passed without any action between them and Hannibal. For that General, after having so lately seen his family and country receive so great a blow, in the death of his brother Asdrubal, and the entire defeat of his army, did not think it proper for him to march against victorious enemies. The Romans, on their side, seeing that he lay still, thought it adviseable to leave him so ; so formidable was his name only, even whilst every thing around him was declining. Here Polybius, and Livy after him, make a reflexion highly capable of giving us a great idea of Hannibal. That great man seemed, say they, to shew himself still more worthy of admiration in bad, than in good fortune. And indeed, is it not a kind of prodigy, that during thirteen years, which he had made war in a foreign country, far from his own, with very different success, at the head of an army composed, not of Carthaginian citizens, but of a mixed body of different nations, not united amongst themselves either by the same laws or language ; and whose habits, arms, ceremonies, sacrifices, and even gods, were different ;  
he

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

*Praise of  
Hannibal.*  
Liv. xxviii.  
12.  
Polyb. xi.  
637.



A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

he should know how to unite them so effectually, that during so long a series of years no discord between the troops, or sedition against their General, should arise, though they often wanted both provisions and money in an enemy's country ; which in the first Punic war had occasioned so many disorders between the Generals and soldiers ? But, from the time he had lost his only resource by the death of Asdrubal, and the defeat of his army, and he had been reduced to retreat into a little corner of Bruttium, and to abandon all the rest of Italy ; who will not think it surprizing that no disorder should happen amongst the soldiers, in a conjuncture when he was in want of all things ? For the Carthaginians, who found it highly difficult to find means to maintain their ground in Spain, sent him no more supplies than if he abounded in every thing in Italy. And this is one of those great points, that distinguish a man's superior genius, and shew how high Hannibal's ability arose in the art of war.

*Praise of  
Scipio.*

That of Scipio was no less admirable. The wise activity of that very young General entirely reinstated the Roman affairs in Spain, as the tenacious protraction of Fabius had before done in Italy. Such happy beginnings were sustained by an uniform conduct, that never departed from itself in any thing, and by an uninterrupted series of great and noble actions, they exalted his glory to the highest point, and successfully terminated the most dangerous war the Romans were ever engaged in.

*Livy's re-  
flexion up-  
on the af-  
fairs of  
Spain.*

Liv. xxviii.  
12.

Livy observes here, that the affairs of Spain, in respect to the Carthaginians, were almost in the same situation as those of Italy. For the Carthaginians having been defeated in a battle, wherein their General was taken, had been obliged to retire to the extremities of the province and the  
coasts

coasts of the ocean. All the difference was, that Spain, as well from the genius of the natives, as the nature and situation of places, was far more proper for reviving a war, not only than Italy, but than any other part of the universe. Accordingly, though this was the first province upon the *terra firma*, into which the Romans entered, it is however the last they entirely reduced into subjection : which did not happen till the reign of Augustus.

At the time of which we are speaking, Scipio Scipio gave great proofs of his ability and valour. Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo, the most illustrious of the Carthaginian Generals next to those of the Barcinian family, being returned from Cadiz, entered Hispania \* Ulterior. With the assistance of Mago, Hannibal's brother, he made great levies throughout the country, and set on foot an army of † fifty thousand infantry, and four thousand five hundred horse. The two Carthaginian Generals encamped near || Silpia, in a vast plain, with design to come to a battle, if the Romans offered it.

Scipio rightly judged, that he was not in a condition to withstand such numerous forces with only the Roman legions ; and that it was absolutely necessary to oppose them, at least in shew, with the aids of Spain itself ; avoiding however to place any confidence in those Barbarians, and to take so great a number of them into his army, that in

\* That was called Hispania Citerior, which was on this side of the river Iberus, in respect to the Romans ; and that on the other Hispania Ulterior. The latter included Lusitania (Portugal) and the countries on the south,

† Polybius makes this army amount to seventy thousand foot.

|| Some authors believe, that it is a city of Hispania Tarraconensis, called by Polybius, Helingos.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

case of treachery might occasion its ruin, as they had occasioned that of his father and uncle. The account of the battle that ensued, will shew with what wisdom he executed this project. Having set out from Tarraco, and received a reinforcement under Silanus on his route at \* Castulon, he advanced as far as the city of \* Bæcula with all his forces, which amounted to forty-five thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

When the two armies came in view, some slight skirmishes passed. After both sides had sufficiently tried their force in many small engagements, Asdrubal was the first that drew up his troops in battle. The Romans immediately did the same. Both armies were posted before the intrenchments of their camps, where they stayed in expectation that the other would begin the charge. The evening being come without either having moved, Asdrubal first, and then Scipio, made his troops re-enter their camp. The same passed several days, without coming to an action.

Both parties continued to draw up in the same manner. On the one side the Romans, and on the other the Carthaginians mixed with Africans, formed the main body. The Spaniards, who were allies either of the Romans or Carthaginians, were upon the wings of both armies. Two and thirty elephants, placed in front of the Carthaginians, appeared at a distance like castles or bastions. It was expected in both camps, that the troops would engage in the order they had hitherto been drawn up: but Scipio was resolved to change the whole disposition of his army upon the day they should actually come to a battle. Over night he gave orders, that both men and horses should eat

\* These two rivers were Guadalquivir; Castulon to the rear the source of the Bætis or north of the river.



before day, and that the cavalry should hold themselves in readiness to move on the first notice.

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It was scarce day, when he detached all his horse with the light-armed soldiers to attack the posts of the Carthaginians. A moment after he set out himself with all his infantry ; posting, contrary to the opinion of the enemy and his own troops, the Roman soldiers upon the wings, and the Spaniards in the centre. Asdrubal, awakened by the noise of this unforeseen attack, immediately quitted his tent. He no sooner perceived the Romans before his intrenchments, the Carthaginians in disorder, and the whole plain covered with the enemy, than on his side he sent his whole cavalry against that of Scipio, and quitted his camp himself at the head of his infantry, without changing any thing in the order he had used before the battle. It was long doubtful between the horse ; and it was not easy for it to be decisive on their side ; because those who gave way (which happened alternately on both sides) found an assured retreat with their infantry.

But when the two main bodies were not above five hundred paces from each other, Scipio put a stop to this action, ordering the legions to open, and receive the cavalry and light-armed soldiers into the midst of them, of which he formed two bodies, that he posted with the corps *de reserve* behind the two wings : and when he was upon the point of charging the enemy, he commanded the Spaniards, who were in the centre of his battle, to march in close order and softly. As to himself, he sent from the right wing, which he commanded, to tell Silanus and Marcius to extend the left wing, at the head of which they were, as they should see him extend the right, and to make the most speedy of their horse and foot advance against the enemy, in order to begin the charge, before  
the

A. R. 546.  
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the battalions in the centre could come to engage. Having lengthened the two wings in this manner, they marched fiercely against the enemy, each with three cohorts of foot, three squadrons of horse, and the light-armed troops, whilst the rest followed, forming an oblique line with the main body, in order to attack the Carthaginians in the flanks.

There was an hollow in the centre, because the Spaniards marched slowly according to the order they had received; and the wings were already engaged, when the Carthaginians and Africans, who formed the enemy's principal force, were not within the discharge of darts. Besides which, they dared not advance to the wings, to assist those who were at blows, lest they should break their centre, and expose it uncovered to the enemy, who were upon the point of charging it. Thus the wings had two enemies to deal with at once: the cavalry and light-armed troops, who had taken a compass, in order to charge them in flank, and the cohorts, who attacked them vigorously in front, to separate them from the main body. We see from all that has been said, what the ability of a great Captain can do.

The wings fought for some time with much bravery: but the heat of the day becoming greater, the Spaniards, who had been obliged to quit their camp without refreshment, were too weak to support their arms, whilst the Romans, full of spirit and vigour, had the farther advantage over them, that, by the conduct of their General, what was strongest in their army had only to deal with what was weakest in that of the enemy. The strength and courage therefore of the latter being exhausted, they gave way, keeping their ranks however as if the whole army had retreated by order of their General. But the victor then having began to press them on all sides with the more vigour,

gour, as he saw them lose ground, it was no longer possible for them to resist, and notwithstanding all the endeavours and remonstrances of Asdrubal, fear prevailing over shame, they broke, and fled with abundance of terror into their camp. The Romans would have pursued them into it, and made themselves masters of it, but for a violent storm, during which so much rain fell, that it was not without great pains, that the victors themselves regained their own camp.

Asdrubal seeing that the Trudetani had abandoned him, and that all the rest of the allies were upon the point of doing the same, he decamped the following night to prevent the evil from spreading further. At day-break, Scipio being informed of the enemy's retreat, ordered his cavalry to pursue them. Though through the mistake of his guides their march was lengthened ineffectually, they however came up with the enemy, and charging them sometimes in the rear and sometimes in flank, they harassed them continually, and retarded their flight sufficiently to give the legions time to arrive. From that moment it was no longer a battle, but a real slaughter; till the General himself exhorting his troops to fly, escaped to the neighbouring mountains with a body of about six thousand men, half unarmed. All the rest were either killed or taken. Asdrubal, seeing his troops went over continually to the enemy's camp, abandoned the remains of his army, got to the sea-coast during the night, and embarked on board ships that carried him to Cadiz.

Scipio having received advice of Asdrubal's flight, left ten thousand foot and a thousand horse with Silanus, entirely to disperse the remains of this army. As for himself, in seventy days, he returned to Tarraco with the rest of his troops, examining every-where on his route the conduct, which

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

*Scipio re-  
turns to  
Tarraco.*  
Liv. xxviii.  
16.



A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

which the cities and petty Princes had observed in respect to the Romans, and distributing rewards or punishments according to their merits.

*Masinissa*  
*joins the*  
*Romans.*  
Liv. *ibid.*

After his departure, Masinissa having taken secret measures with Silanus, in order to be admitted into the alliance of the Romans, went to Africa with a small number of his subjects, with design to make his whole nation enter into it. Livy gives us no reason for this change of Masinissa, and contents himself with saying, that the constant fidelity with which he persevered in the amity of the Romans to the end of his life, that was very long, leaves room to judge that he did not act without sufficient motives.

See Liv.  
xxix. 29.

But from the account which we shall give elsewhere of the revolutions that happened about this time in Numidia, it will appear that the Carthaginians had joined Masinissa's enemies. It was probably this, which induced that Prince to quit their alliance. And afterwards the marriage of Sophonisba, who had been promised to him, and was given to Syphax, made him entirely irreconcilable in respect to them.

Mago followed Asdrubal to Cadiz, with the ships the latter had sent back to him. Flight or desertion dispersed all the rest of the Carthaginian party, abandoned by their leaders, into the neighbouring cities. Nothing farther appeared, at least considerable either by number or strength. In this manner Scipio drove the Carthaginians out of Spain, six years after he took upon him the command of the armies in that province, and thirteen after the beginning of this war between the two nations.

Silanus, having no longer any enemy to oppose, returned to Scipio at Tarraco, and informed him, that the war was entirely terminated.

Some

Some time after, L. Scipio arrived at Rome, whither his brother sent him with a great number of illustrious prisoners, with the news of Spain's being totally reduced. This spread universal joy throughout the city. The wisdom and valour of that young Hero was extolled to the skies. But as to himself, insatiable of glory, he considered all he had hitherto done, but as a slight sketch of the great enterprizes he meditated. Intent on the design of carrying the war to the walls of Carthage, he judged it necessary to concert some intelligence and support in Africa.

Syphax reigned then in the best part of Numidia, over the People called *Masæsyli*. He was a powerful Prince, but one who piqued himself but little in point of faith and constancy to his engagements. He had formerly entered into a treaty of alliance and amity with the two Scipios, father and uncle of him we are now speaking of; and afterwards he had gone over again to the party of the Carthaginians. Scipio, who believed he should have occasion for him in order to succeed in his great design, endeavoured to regain him, and sent Lælius to him with considerable presents. Syphax did not wait much pressing. He saw at this time the affairs of the Romans prosperous on all sides; and, on the contrary, those of the Carthaginians declining continually both in Spain and Italy. He however declared, he would conclude nothing but with the Roman General in person. Lælius returned, having only made Syphax engage for the safety of Scipio's person, in case he should determine to come to him.

That Prince's amity was of the last importance to Scipio's views upon Africa. He was the most opulent King of the country. He had already been at war with the Carthaginians. His dominions were very commodiously situated in respect to

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

Spain, from which they were only separated by an arm of the sea narrow enough. Scipio judged that such an advantage was well worth exposing himself even to a considerable danger, and without hesitating set out from Carthagera with two ships, in order to have an interview with Syphax. At the same time Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo, the Carthaginian General, who had lately been reduced to abandon Spain, retired to the same Prince with seven ships. He was in the port, when he perceived the two Roman galleys out at sea. He took some pains in order to attack them. But the wind, which blew hard, having soon brought Scipio into the port, Asdrubal did not dare to insult him, and thought of nothing but going to Syphax, whither Scipio soon followed him.

Syphax was highly pleased to see court made to him by two Generals of the two most powerful States of the Universe, who came in one day to demand his aid and alliance. He invited them both to lodge in his palace. He even took pains to persuade them to terminate all their differences by an interview. But Scipio excused himself, by declaring, that he had no personal interests to adjust with Asdrubal, nor any powers for treating of affairs of state with an enemy. However, at the King's request, he consented to eat with Asdrubal, and even to lie upon the same bed with him.

Scipio's conversation had so many beauties, and his address in giving the bent to peoples minds was so great, that, during the entertainment, he not only charmed Syphax, a Barbarian Prince, and the more easy to win by a politeness and complacency entirely new to him, but even Asdrubal, the inveterate enemy of the Romans, and of Scipio in particular. That Carthaginian owned afterwards, that this conversation had given him an higher idea of Scipio, than all his victories. He added,



added, that he did not doubt, but that Syphax and his kingdom would for the future be entirely devoted to the Romans ; such wonderful art had Scipio to insinuate, and gain the confidence of all those with whom he treated.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

But another thought engrossed Asdrubal, and gave him the most cruel anxiety. “ He rightly perceived, that it was not for the sake of diverting himself along the coasts of the sea, nor to gratify his curiosity, that a captain of such great reputation had come to Africa with two galleys, abandoning his troops in a province newly conquered, and had exposed himself in an enemy’s country to the discretionary faith of a Prince, upon which he had no great reason to rely. That the end of this voyage undoubtedly was the design Scipio had formed to attack Africa. He knew, that General had long meditated that conquest, and openly asked, Why, as Hannibal had the boldness to carry the war into the heart of Italy, Scipio should not go, and make it at the gates of Carthage.” He concluded from all these reasonings, that the Carthaginians for the future were not to think of recovering Spain, but of preserving Africa ; and he was not mistaken.

It might be asked, whether it was consistent with prudence in Scipio to undertake the voyage of which we are speaking, and to expose himself without necessity to all the dangers which might result from it. Some moments sooner, Asdrubal might have seized his person : and what a misfortune would that have been to Rome ! Neither did he hazard less in respect to Syphax, a Prince, who was not a slave to his engagements, and actually the ally of the Carthaginians, and who seeing himself master of the person of their most formidable enemy, might very naturally be tempted to

A. R. 546.  
Abc. C. 206.

Liv. xxii.  
39.

deliver him up to them. We shall see Fabius in the sequel reproach him with this action as rash, and contrary to rules. But the authority of Fabius, who was extremely prejudiced against Scipio, ought not to be of any great weight here. For my part, I dare not venture to determine in such a doubtful case; and must leave that to the reader. If the event is to determine in such a case, the answer were easy: but the wise Fabius observes, that events teach only fools: *Eventus stultorum magister est*. However it be, Scipio had no reason to repent his voyage, and did not return into Spain, till after having made a league offensive and defensive with Syphax against the Carthaginians. Having re embarked on board of his galleys, he returned in four days to the port of Carthage; and immediately applied to the affairs of the province.

The Romans, indeed, had nothing farther to fear from the Carthaginians in Spain: but there were still some cities, whose inhabitants remembering the animosity they had evidenced against the Romans, remained quiet only through fear, and not inclination. The greatest, as well as the most criminal, were Illiturgis and Castulon. The latter, after having been the ally of the Romans in the time of their prosperity, had quitted them for the Carthaginians, soon after the defeat of the Scipios and their armies. The people of Illiturgis had even signalized their revolt by egregious cruelty, in massacring such of the Romans, as, after the loss of the battle, had come to take refuge amongst them. Scipio, as soon as he came to Spain, well knew what those people had deserved: but to punish them was not proper then. Now when the tranquility of Spain was reinstated, he thought it time to take vengeance of the guilty.

Accord-

Accordingly having made L. Marcius come to him from Tarraco, he ordered him to besiege Castulon with the third part of his troops ; and he moved himself with the rest of the army against Illiturgis, where he arrived after five days march, attended by Lælius. The inhabitants, instructed before-hand by the reproaches of their consciences of what they had to fear, had made all the necessary preparations for a good defence. Convinced that they could not escape punishments and death, they were determined to sell their lives dear. This resolution had been generally taken in the place. Men and women, old and young, all were soldiers. Fury and despair served them instead of courage, and rendered all exhortations superfluous. The besieged defended themselves with so much ardour, that this army, which had subjected Spain, had more than once the shame of being repulsed far from the walls by the burghers of a single city. Scipio apprehending, that this bad success might discourage his troops, and increase the boldness of the enemy, thought it incumbent upon him to share in the danger. For this reason, after having reproached the soldiers with their want of vigour, he caused scaling ladders to be brought, and declared, that he would mount in person to attack the place, if others refused to do so. He was already at the bottom of the wall, when all the soldiers, terrified with the danger, to which they saw their General exposed, cried out with one voice to him to retire ; and at the same time planted their ladders in several places at once, and went up them with great intrepidity.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.  
*Scipio besieges and takes Illiturgis, and destroys it entirely.*  
Liv. xxviii.  
19, 20.  
App. Bell. Hisp. 272.

Lælius on his side did not push the attack with less ardour. It was then, that the besieged began to lose courage, and those who defended the walls having been beat off, the Romans made themselves masters of them immediately. The citadel



A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

at the same time, in effect of the tumult excited in the city, was taken on the very side supposed impregnable, some African deserters, who served in the Roman army, having climbed with abundance of difficulty to the top of the rock, by ways that seemed impracticable.

The slaughter was horrible, and then was seen what rage, hatred, and revenge, are capable of doing. No body thought of taking prisoners or plunder, though the effects of the inhabitants were at the discretion of the soldiers. The victors put all to the sword that came in their way, and killed indifferently men and women, old and young, even to infants at the breast. They afterwards set fire to the houses, and destroyed all that escaped the flames; so inveterate were they to obliterate the least trace of a city that had made itself so detestable to them.

*Castulon  
surrenders,  
and is  
treated  
with less  
severity.*

Scipio marched his army from thence to Castulon, which was defended not only by the Spaniards of the place, but by some Carthaginian troops, the remains of Asdrubal's army, who had fled thither. The news of the taking and destroying of Illiturgis had preceded the arrival of Scipio, and filled the place with terror and despair. As the case of the Carthaginians, who were within it, was different from that of the inhabitants, and every one thought only of his own interest without regard to those of others, their mutual distrust soon degenerated into open discord. The besieged delivered up Himilco, the Carthaginian commander, with his troops and the city, to Scipio. This victory was less bloody than the former: and indeed the inhabitants of Castulon were less criminal than those of Illiturgis, and their voluntary surrender had very much appeased the rage of the Romans.

After this expedition Marcius was detached to reduce such of the Barbarians, as were not entirely subjected

subjected under the power of the Romans ; and Scipio returned to Carthage, in order to thank the Gods for the advantages he had obtained by their protection, and to celebrate Games there and exhibit combats of Gladiators, for which he had caused preparations to be made, in honour of his father and uncle.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.  
*Games and  
Combats of  
Gladiators  
given by  
Scipio in  
honour of  
his father  
and uncle.  
Liv. xxviii.  
21.*

He used in these combats neither slaves, nor mercenaries accustomed to traffic with their blood, but all persons, who voluntarily offered themselves, and without any motive of interest. Some had been sent to him by the country, who were glad of an occasion to make known the valour of their subjects : some came of themselves, to make their court to Scipio : others out of bravado and through emulation had either given or accepted challenges, in consequence of which they fought. There were some, who agreed to decide quarrels by the sword, which they either could not, or would not, determine otherwise. Amongst these were persons of illustrious rank, as Corbis and Orsua two cousin Germans, who agreed to decide their disputed right to the principality of the city of Ibis by the sword. Corbis was the eldest : but Orsua was the son of the last possessor ; to whom the elder brother had bequeathed that sovereignty at his death. Scipio endeavoured to accommodate the affair amicably, and to reconcile them : but they declared, that their nearest relations had already made them the same proposal, which they would not hearken to ; and that they would acknowledge no other arbiter of their difference but the god Mars. The fury with which they fought, chusing rather to die than to be in subjection to each other, was at once an affecting spectacle to the army, and a lesson highly proper to intimate how great an evil the desire of reigning is amongst mankind. The eldest was victorious, and remained peaceable pos-

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

feſſor of the city. The battles of the Gladiators were followed by funeral games as magnificent as they could be in the province and in a camp.

*Horrible  
Resolution  
of the in-  
habitants  
of Aſtapa.  
They are  
all killed.  
Liv. xxviii.  
22, 23.  
App. Bell.  
Hiſp. 273.*

In the mean time Scipio's lieutenants acted conformably to his orders in the places to which he had ſent them. Marcius having paſſed the river Boëtis, received two opulent cities by capitulation, without having been obliged to employ the force of arms. It was not the ſame at Aſtapa. The Roman army having approached that place in order to attack it, the inhabitants, who knew that, by their depredations and murders committed in cold blood, they had incenſed the Romans againſt them to ſuch a degree, that they had no pardon to hope; and beſides relying little upon the goodneſs of their walls, or the force of their arms, they formed a ſtrange and ſavage reſolution againſt themſelves. They piled up in the middle of the public place the richeſt of their moveables with all their gold and ſilver, placed their wives and children upon the top of them, and ſurrounded the whole with dry and immediately combuſtible wood. They afterwards ordered fifty of their ſtrongeſt young men, well armed, to guard in this place, as long as the ſucceſs of the battle ſhould be doubtful, both their treaſures, and the perſons infinitely dearer to them, and when they ſhould perceive, that all hopes were loſt, to ſet fire to the pile, and to leave nothing conſided to their care upon which the enemy could exerciſe their fury. That as to themſelves, if they could not ſave the city, nor avoid being overcome, they would all periſh in battle. They added the moſt horrible imprecations againſt thoſe, whom want of courage, or the hope of ſaving their lives, ſhould prevent from executing this deſign.

After having taken theſe meaſures, they ſuddenly opened the gates of the city, and charged the



the Romans with the utmost fury. Such a salley was not expected. Some squadrons, with the light-armed, quitted the camp that moment to meet them: but they were vigorously repulsed, and the Romans had been obliged to fight near their intrenchments, if the main body of the legions had not drawn up in battle as soon as possible, and marched against the enemy. Upon that the people of Astapa, throwing themselves desperately into the midst of arms and wounds, put the front ranks of the Roman infantry into disorder for some time. But those old soldiers opposing a determinate bravery to the boldness and temerity of those furious people, by the slaughter of the foremost quelled the violence of those that followed them. Seeing however, that none gave way, and that being determined on death, they suffered themselves to be killed, without quitting their posts, they opened in the centre, as it was easy to do in effect of their great number, and having surrounded the enemy in the middle, they obliged them to close up into an orb, and killed them all together to the last man.

The murder, committed in the city was more horrid. For it was fellow-citizens, that slaughtered a multitude of women and children, incapable from their sex and tender years to make any defence; and afterwards threw their bodies, most of them still alive, upon a pile purposely set on fire, whilst the flames were almost extinguished by the abundance of blood, that streamed on all sides; and at length, tired with killing they leaped with their arms into the same flames, to be consumed with their own people, whom they had massacred in so deplorable a manner.

Every thing was executed when the Romans entered the place; who at first were struck with horror and astonishment at so dreadful a sight. But,

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

But, presently after, when they perceived the gold and silver glittering through the other things, which the fire was destroying, their natural avidity had its effect. They threw themselves so eagerly into the middle of the flames to take out those valuable things, that several perished in them, and others were much hurt by the smoke and steam, those who were foremost not having it in their power to fall back, because they were pushed on by those behind them, who were desirous to share in the booty. Thus the city of Astapa was entirely consumed by fire and sword, without the soldiery being able to make any advantage of the plunder.

Marcus had no farther occasion to use force for reducing all the rest of the country, and having entirely restored tranquility by the terror of his arms alone, he led back his victorious troops to Carthage, where Scipio expected him.

I do not know that history has a more terrible example of the fury and rage, to which despair can drive mankind: the odium of it is not to be ascribed to the Romans; the enemy, with whom they had to deal, being obstinately determined to die, and neither to ask, nor receive, quarter.

*Enterprise  
against  
Cadiz.*

Liv. xxviii.

23.

At the same time, deserters came from Cadiz, who offered Scipio to deliver up that city, with the Carthaginian garrison, and the General who commanded it. Mago had retired thither after his defeat, and having drawn together some ships upon the ocean, had received some supplies from the coasts of Africa beyond the Straits, and from the nearest quarters in Spain, by the assistance of Hannibal, a Carthaginian officer. Scipio accepted the promise of the deserters, and gave them his own; and having sent them back, he made Marcus set out with a body of troops to attack Cadiz by land; whilst Lælius, in concert with him, was to act  
against

against that city by sea with seven gallies of three, and one of five benches of oars.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

Scipio in the mean time was taken very ill, and rumour made his sickness much more dangerous than it really was; as it usually happens through the natural propensity of mankind to exaggerate and magnify what they hear with new circumstances. The whole province, and especially the most distant quarters, were filled with trouble and confusion in effect of this news compounded of true and false: and we may perceive what consequence the reality of that General's death would have had, as a groundless rumour of it was attended with such dreadful effects. The allies became unfaithful, and the soldiers seditious. Mandonius and Indibilis, having made their subjects and a great number of Celtiberians take arms, made incursions into the territories of the allies of the Roman People. But the most unhappy Circumstances of this revolt was, that even the Roman citizens themselves forgot their duty to their country.

Scipio's  
sickness,  
which oc-  
casions a  
Sedition.  
Liv. xxviii.  
24—29.  
App. Bell.  
Hisp. 273  
—275.

Near Sucro there was a body of eight thousand Romans, who had been made to incamp there in order to awe the People on that side of the Iberus. Those troops had begun to mutiny, before the news of Scipio's illness had spread. Long ease, as usually happens, had insensibly produced licentiousness. Accustomed during the war to live at large in the enemy's country, they suffered themselves with great reluctance to be kept within bounds in time of peace. At first they only murmured in secret. *If there be still any enemies in the province, said those soldiers, why do they keep us in a country at peace, where we stay with our arms a-cross in a state of inaction. Or, if the war be terminated, why don't they let us return to Italy?* The news of Scipio's sickness, followed immediately with

Revolt of  
the Ro-  
mans in-  
camped at  
Sucro.



A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

with the rumour of his death, exceedingly increased their bad disposition. They demanded their pay with more insolence than became well-disciplined soldiers. Upon the guards they were so insolent as to insult the Tribunes, when they walked the rounds, and many went out to maraud in the neighbouring villages, whose inhabitants were allies of the Romans. And lastly, in open day, and without regard to orders, they quitted their colours, and went where they pleased, without asking permission of their officers. They had no longer any regard in the camp either to the laws of war, or the authority of the officers: the caprice and will of the soldiers were their sole rule and director.

They however still retained an appearance of a Roman camp, solely with the hope of rendering their Tribunes the accomplices of their sedition and disorder. With this thought, they suffered a council of war to assemble in the great parade, they gave the watch-word, and kept guard in their turns as usual. Thus, though they had in reality entirely thrown off the yoke, they however made it a law to themselves to retain the outside of obedient soldiers. But at length when they perceived, that their Tribunes disapproved their conduct; that they were determined to reform it, and refused to join in their revolt, and enter into their conspiracy, they no longer observed any measures, and the sedition broke out openly. They drove their officers out of the camp, and unanimously transferred the command to two private soldiers the authors of the sedition, who were C. Albius of Calæ, and C. Atrius of Umbria. These two insolent persons did not content themselves with the ensigns of legionary Tribunes; they had the impudence to assume the marks of supreme power, and to cause the rods and axes to be carried  
before

before them ; without considering, that the superb equipage they employed for keeping others in respect and awe, would soon be the instruments of the punishment their crime had deserved.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

The mutineers expected every moment couriers with the news of Scipio's funeral. But several days having passed without any confirmation of the report of his death, they began to enquire out the first authors of it, every one shifting it from himself, and chusing rather to seem to have believed too lightly the news, than to have invented it. It was then, that the ringleaders of the mutiny, seeing themselves no longer supported with the same ardour as had been expressed at first, began to look on the *fascēs*, which they had foolishly assumed, with terror, and to tremble at the effects of a legitimate authority, upon the point of letting fall upon them the whole weight of a just vengeance.

The sedition was now, if not extinguished, at least much damped, when couriers, upon whom they might rely, brought advice, first that Scipio was alive, and next that he was absolutely out of danger. Soon after, seven legionary Tribunes, sent by Scipio, arrived in the camp. The sight of these officers at first incensed the soldiers, but their obliging and familiar behaviour, attended with an air of kindness and good will, soon made every body quiet. They intruded themselves into the knots of soldiers discoursing together, and shared in the conversation ; and without reproaching them in the least with their past conduct, they only seemed curious to be informed of the occasion of their discontent and alarms. The soldiers complained of not having been paid upon the fixed days. They added, that it was by their valour the glory of the Roman name had been preserved, as well as the province, which the deaths of the

*Scipio uses infinite address in appeasing and punishing the sedition.*

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

two Scipio's, and the defeat of their armies, had exposed to the utmost danger. The Tribunes replied, that their complaints were just, and their demands reasonable ; and that they should not fail to inform the General of them. That they were infinitely pleased, that nothing worse had happened : that it was easy to give them satisfaction : that Scipio and the Commonwealth were in a condition, and intended, to bestow upon their services and valour the rewards they had deserved.

Scipio was at no loss, when the question was to make war ; That was his trade : but never having experienced sedition before, it gave him some difficulty. He was terrified with excesses in his army, that left no room for clemency : and he was afraid of carrying severity too far. He resolved to act with prudence and moderation, as he had already began. In order to this, he sent those to the tributary cities, who collected the revenues of the Commonwealth ; and That gave the soldiers hopes, that they should immediately be paid their arrears. Some days after he published a decree, by which they were commanded to come to Carthagera to receive their pay, separately by companies, or all together, if they chose it. The sedition was already much weakened : but when it was known, that the People of Spain, who had taken arms, had laid them down, it was entirely extinguished. For Mandonius and Indibilis had no sooner received advice, that Scipio was in perfect health, than they abandoned their enterprize, and returned into their countries. In effect there was neither Roman, nor stranger, that the soldiers of Sucro could associate in their revolt.

After many reflexions, they made the only choice that offered ; which was to put their fate into the hands of their General, whether he thought fit to use a just rigour in respect to them, or should incline



incline to clemency, of which they did not entirely despair. “ They represented to themselves, that  
“ he had frequently pardoned enemies conquered  
“ by the force of arms: that in their sedition  
“ there had not been a single sword drawn, nor a  
“ drop of blood shed. That having been far  
“ from carrying their crime to the last excess,  
“ they did not deserve to be treated with the ex-  
“ cess of rigour.” They flattered themselves with these thoughts, according to the natural propensity of mankind to palliate and excuse their faults. They were only in doubt whether they should go for their pay all together, or by separate companies. They chose to do what they thought safest; which was not to separate.

Scipio on his side deliberated on the conduct it was necessary to observe in respect to them. Some were for confining the punishment to the ringleaders, who were about thirty-five: others believed so criminal a sedition required a more general punishment. The opinion for lenity prevailed. At the breaking up of the council, the soldiers, who were in Carthagera, were ordered to hold themselves in a readiness to march against the revolted Spaniards, and to provide subsistence for several days. And it was given out, that the Council lately held was upon this expedition.

When the rebels were near Carthagera, they were informed, that all the troops Scipio had in that city, were to set out under the command of Silanus. This news did not only deliver them from the dread and anxiety the remembrance of their crime gave them, but occasioned great joy amongst them. They imagined, that their General was upon the point of remaining along with them, and that they should be more in a condition to give him law, than to receive it from him. They entered the city towards the close of the day,  
and

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

and saw the troops of Carthagera making all preparations for their departure.

During the night, those who were to be punished, were seized. Good measures were taken to do it without noise. Towards the end of the night, the baggage of the army, which as it was pretended was to set out, began its march. At the break of day the troops advanced out of the city, but stopped at the gate, and guards were posted at all the other gates, to prevent any one whatsoever from coming out.

After these precautions, those who arrived the night before came to the assembly, to which they had been summoned, with an air of haughtiness and arrogance, as people, who by their cries were upon the point of giving the General terror, and far from fearing any thing from him. Scipio then ascended his tribunal ; and at that instant the troops who had been made to march out of the city having re-entered under arms, surrounded the unarmed soldiers assembled round their General, as was the custom. At that moment all their insolence forsook them, as they owned afterwards ; and what terrified them most, was the vigour and healthy look of Scipio, whom they expected to find languid and weak with long sickness, and a visage more fierce and enraged, than they had observed him to have on a day of battle. He continued sitting for some time without saying any thing, till he was informed that the authors of the sedition had been carried to the publick place, and that all things were ready.

Then causing silence to be made by a Licitor, he spoke in terms to this effect : *I never thought, that when I was to speak to my soldiers, I could have been at a loss for what to say. However, at this time, both thoughts and expression fail me. I do not know what name to give you. Shall I call you citizens ;*  
*you,*

you, who have revolted against your country; you, <sup>A. R. 546.</sup>  
 who have thrown off your obedience to your General's <sup>Ant. C. 406.</sup>  
 authority, and violated the religion of the oath in  
 which you had bound yourselves to him? Or shall I  
 call you enemies? You have the outside, the aspects,  
 the habits of citizens: but your actions, language,  
 and conspiracies shew you to be enemies. And accord-  
 ingly, wherein have your intentions and hopes differed  
 from those of the Spaniards? You are even more cri-  
 minal, and more frantic than them. For, after all,  
 they followed, as the leaders of their phrensy, Man-  
 donius and Indibilis, Princes of the blood royal:  
 whereas you have had the baseness to acknowledge an  
 Atrius and an Albius for your Generals, both the vile  
 the infamous dregs of the army. Deny that you have  
 had any share in so detestable, so extravagant, a de-  
 sign. Affirm, that it was the contrivance of a small  
 number of frantic abandoned wretches. I shall be glad  
 to believe you; and it is my interest so to do.

As to me, after having driven the Carthaginians  
 out of Spain, I did not imagine, considering the con-  
 duct I have observed, that there was a single place in  
 the whole province, where my life was hateful, or a  
 single man that could desire my death. How much  
 was I deceived in this hope! The moment the report  
 of my death spread in my camp, my soldiers, my own  
 soldiers, not only heard it with indifference, but even  
 expected the confirmation of it with impatience. I am  
 far from thinking, that the whole army thought in  
 the same manner. If I believed that, I could no  
 longer support a life become so odious to all my coun-  
 try, and to all my soldiers, and should sacrifice it  
 here before your eyes.

But not to speak of what concerns me. Let us sup-  
 pose, that you believed my death with more precipi-  
 tation than joy, and that I did not deserve your at-  
 tachment and fidelity so much as I imagined; what  
 had your country done to you, that you should betray



A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

*it by joining Mandonius and Indibilis? What had the Roman People done to you, that you should turn your arms against them? What injury had you received from them, to deserve such a revenge? What! did your not being paid a few days during the illness of your General, seem a sufficient reason for violating all laws human and divine? In former times an unjust sentence and an unhappy banishment, induced Coriolanus to besiege Rome. But the respect alone that he owed his mother, wrested his arms out of his hands, and obliged him to renounce his enterprise.*

*And after all, what was the end of yours, and what advantage did you expect from so frantic and criminal a conspiracy? Were you in hopes of depriving the Roman People of the possession of Spain, and of making yourselves masters of it? But, should I have died, would the Commonwealth have ended with my life? Would the sovereignty of the Roman People have expired with me? May the Gods forbid, that the duration of a State founded under their auspices to subsist eternally, should become equal, and be limited, to that of a frail and perishable body like mine. The Roman People have survived the loss of Paulus Æmilius, Marcellus, the two Scipios my father and uncle, and the many illustrious Generals who have perished in the same war; and will survive a thousand others, whom the sword or disease may carry off. You certainly lost all reason and sense, when you abandoned your duty; and you can be considered only as People seized with phrenzy, and distraction.*

*But let all that is past be buried, if possible, in eternal oblivion, or at least in profound silence. For my part, I shall reproach you with it no more: and may you forget, as entirely as I shall, the excesses you have ran into. As to what regards you in general, if you repent of your crime, I am satisfied. As to Albius, Atrius, and the other wretches, who have*  
cor-

*corrupted you, they shall expiate their crime with their blood. If you have recovered the use of your reason, their punishment will not only give you no pain, but even be agreeable to you: for they have wronged none so much as you.*

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

As soon as Scipio had done, all that was capable of giving terror to their souls was exhibited, as had been concerted, to their eyes and ears. The soldiers of the other army, who had surrounded the assembly, began to strike their swords upon their shields; and at the same instant the voice of the herald, summoning those who had been condemned into the council. After having been divested of their cloaths, they were dragged into the middle of the assembly, and the instruments of their punishment were immediately brought out. Whilst they were fastening to stakes, whipt with rods, and their heads were cut off, their accomplices remained without motion, and so struck with dread, that not a single complaint, nor so much as a groan, escaped them.

The executed bodies were afterwards removed from the middle of the place, which care was taken to cleanse; and the soldiers having all been called one after another, took a new oath in Scipio's name to the Tribunes, and at the same instant all their arrears were paid them.

Something would have been wanting to Scipio's glory, if his address in giving the due bent of mind, and his ability in transacting the most delicate affairs, qualities absolutely necessary in government, had not been put to a Trial. The affair of which I am speaking, that is to say, the open revolt of a body of eight thousand men, was one of great difficulty. To treat an whole army with excessive rigour was improper; and such a crime ought not to pass unpunished. Rigour and indulgence in excess, were equally dangerous. Accordingly our

*Admirable wisdom of Scipio in his manner of acting in respect to the revolt at Suero.*

A. R. 546.  
A. C. 206.

General took the wise mean between those two extremes, by making the punishment fall only upon a few of the most criminal, and pardoning all the rest ; but after a reprimand the more lively and sensible, as it was tempered with mildness, and lenity, and seemed only strong in effect of reason and truth. We have seen, and admired, the precautions which he took to enable himself to perform so terrible an execution without any danger or risque. It, no doubt, cost Scipio's good heart abundance of pain ; and we shall presently see him explain himself upon that head. A General does not resolve to cut off and destroy some mortified members, but with intent to save the whole body. According to Plato quoted by (a) Seneca, the wise man does not punish, because men have offended ; for the past is not susceptible of correction ; but that they may not transgress for the future : and this is effected by exemplary punishment, which prevents others from falling into the like misfortune. All this requires great wisdom ; and we must allow it appears here evidently in the conduct of Scipio. Thus terminated the revolt of Sucro.

## S E C T. II.

*Ineffectual attempt of Lælius and Marcius upon the city of Cadiz. Sea-fight between Lælius and Adherbal in the Straits. Lælius and Marcius return to Scipio. That General marches against Mandonius and Indibilis, and defeats them entirely. In-*

(a) Nam, ut Plato ait, nemo prudens punit, quia peccatum est, sed ne peccetur. Revocari enim præterita non possunt : futura prohibentur ; & quos volet nequitiae malè cedentis exempla fieri, palam occidet, non tantum ut pereant ipsi, sed ut alios pererundo deterreant. *Senec. de Ira. I. 16.*

*dibilis*



*dibilis sends his brother Mandonius to Scipio, who pardons them. Interview of Scipio and Masinissa. Mago receives orders to join Hannibal in Italy. He makes an ineffectual attempt upon Carthage. He returns to Cadiz, where they shut the gates against him. Mago goes to the islands Balears. Cadiz surrenders to the Romans. Scipio returns to Rome. He is created Consul. Deputation from the People of Saguntum to the Romans. Dispute concerning Scipio's design of carrying the war into Africa. Fabius's discourse against Scipio. Scipio's answer to Fabius. Reflection upon the discourse of Fabius. Scipio, after some suspense, refers the affair to the Senate, who give him permission to go to Africa. Fabius opposes Scipio's enterprize, as much as possible. Wonderful zeal of the allies for the latter. He sets out for Sicily, and his colleague for Bruttium. Mago lands in Italy, and seizes Genoa.*

**L**ET us now go back to Lælius and Marcius, who had set out, as we said above, the first with a squadron of eight ships, and the latter by land to besiege Cadiz; of which they expected to make themselves masters easily, in effect of a secret correspondence carried on by the Romans in the place. They were deceived in their hopes. Mago, who was then in the place, had discovered the conspiracy, seized all the accomplices, and made the Prætor Adherbal carry them to Carthage. The latter, in consequence, having put them on board a galley of five benches of oars, made it set out foremost, because it was the heaviest, and followed it close with eight galleys of three benches. When the galley of five benches entered the Straits, Lælius, quitting the port of Carteia with a galley of the same burthen, and followed by seven others of three benches, vigorously attacked Adherbal

*A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.  
Ineffectual  
attempt of  
Lælius and  
Marcius  
upon the  
city of Ca-  
diz.  
Liv. xxviii.  
30.*

*Sea fight  
between  
Lælius and  
Adherbal  
in the Straits*

A. R. 545.  
Ant. C. 206.

and his ships. The action began immediately, but had no resemblance of a sea-fight. The dexterity of the pilots, the efforts of the rowers, and the orders of the commanders, were all useless. The rapidity of the current in these straits solely determined all the operations of the fight, and carried away the galleys sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. However in the midst of this disorder and confusion the *quinqueremis* of the Romans sank two *triremes* of the enemy, and broke all the oars on one side of a third, along side of which it passed with impetuosity. It would have treated all the rest in the same manner, if Adherbal, with five that remained, had not got out to the main sea with the help of his sails.

*Lælius and  
Marcius  
rejoin  
Scipio.  
Liv. xxviii.  
31.*

Lælius returned victorious to Carteia, where he was informed of all that had happened at Cadiz: that the conspiracy had been discovered, that the conspirators had been sent to Carthage, and that the officer had entirely miscarried. Seeing that no farther hope remained of its succeeding, he wrote to L. Marcus, that the only choice they had to make was to return to their General: which both did some days after, and rejoined Scipio at Carthagera.

Their departure delivered Mago from great uneasiness; and the news he heard of the revolt of the Illergetes, made him conceive a great design. He sent deputies to the Senate of Carthage, who exaggerating exceedingly the revolt of the Illergetes, and the sedition that had happened in the Roman camp, concluded, that aids should be sent to Mago, adding that by that means he flattered himself with reinstating the Carthaginians in the possession of Spain, which they had received from their ancestors.

Mandonius

Mandonius and Indibilis being returned into their country, remained quiet some time, expecting to hear what the Roman General could do in respect to the sedition, and not despairing, if the citizens were pardoned, to obtain the same grace themselves. But, when they were informed of the rigour with which the guilty had been punished, they concluded, that they should not be treated with less severity themselves. For this reason, having made their subjects take arms again, and having drawn together the auxiliary troops, which they had before, with an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, they entered the country of the \* Sedetani, where they had incamped in the beginning of the sedition. We find that they soon after repassed the Iberus, and returned into their own dominions.

Scipio having easily regained the affection of his soldiers, both by paying them their arrears without regard to guilty or innocent, and the good reception he gave them all indiscriminately, thought it incumbent on him to speak to them, before he led them against the enemy. He therefore assembled the army, and after having expressed himself warmly against the revolt and perfidy of the rebel Princes, he added; “ That he was going to set  
 “ out in order to revenge their crime with dispositions highly different from those he had when  
 “ it was necessary for him to bring over citizens  
 “ to their duty, who had departed from it. That  
 “ had been to him like tearing his own entrails,  
 “ to see himself reduced to expiate by the death  
 “ of thirty wretched men, a fault, whether of imprudence or malignity, that affected eight thousand soldiers; and that that execution had cost  
 “ many tears and groans. But that at present he

*Scipio marches against Mandonius and Indibilis, and entirely defeats them. Liv. xxviii. 31, 34.*

\* This people inhabited the southern part of Arragon, on this side of the Iberus.



A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

“ was going with exprefs intent to fhed the guilty  
 “ blood of a foreign nation, which through de-  
 “ testable perfidy, had lately broke through the  
 “ only ties between them and him, that is to fay  
 “ thofe of faith and alliance. That as to his  
 “ army, befides its being compofed only of citi-  
 “ zens and Latin allies, he faw with pleasure,  
 “ that there was fcarce any foldiers in it, who had  
 “ not been brought out of Italy into Spain either  
 “ by his uncle Cn. Scipio, his father, or himfelf.  
 “ That the name of Scipio was dear to them ;  
 “ that they had all been accuftomed to fight un-  
 “ der their auspices ; that on his fide he was in  
 “ hopes of leading them back to Rome to fhare  
 “ in the triumph they had acquired him by their  
 “ valour ; and that he alfo flattered himfelf, that  
 “ when he fhould ftand for the Confulship, they  
 “ would intereft themfelves as much for him, as  
 “ if the honour of the whole army were in que-  
 “ ftion. That as to the expedition they were go-  
 “ ing upon, they muft forget their paff exploits,  
 “ if they confidered it as a real war. That the  
 “ Illergetes, againft whom they were to march,  
 “ were to be regarded as robbers, who were fit  
 “ only for pillaging lands, burning houfes, and  
 “ driving off the cattle of their neighbours : that  
 “ when the queftion was to fight in order of bat-  
 “ tle, they placed their whole refource, not in the  
 “ force of their arms, but the lightnefs of their  
 “ heels. That therefore with the protection of  
 “ the Gods they fhould follow him to punifh rafh-  
 “ nefs and perfidy.”

He difmiffed them after this difcourfe, giving  
 them orders to hold themfelves in readinefs to  
 march the next day. Accordingly he fet out as  
 he had faid, and in ten days arrived upon the  
 banks of the Iberus. He paffed that river with-  
 out lofs of time, and after four more days march  
 incamped

incamped in sight of the enemy. The rebels, were drawn into an ambuscade first, and defeated with great loss. This blow only served to irritate them ; and the next morning they appeared in order of battle. The action passed in a valley not very spacious. The Spaniards were entirely defeated. Their cavalry, and two thirds of their foot were cut in pieces. The other third, which had not acted in the battle, because the ground was too narrow, escaped from the victors with the two Princes, who were the authors of the revolt. The Romans made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, where they took three thousand prisoners, besides the plunder of all kinds which fell into their hands. They lost on this occasion twelve hundred men, both citizens and allies, and had above three thousand wounded. The victory had not been so bloody, if the battle had been fought on a more extensive ground, and one from which it had been easier to fly.

Indibilis renouncing a war in which he had been so unsuccessful, believed in the bad state of his affairs, that he had not a more assured resource than in Scipio's clemency, of which he had already made an happy trial. He therefore sent his brother Mandonius, who, having prostrated himself at the victor's feet, " ascribed all that had passed " to an unhappy fatality, which had every where " diffused the poisonous contagion of revolt, and " had infected in a manner against their wills, " not only the Illergetes and Lacetani, but the " Romans themselves. That after the crime they " had committed, himself, his brother, and all " their subjects had absolutely determined, either " to resign to Scipio, if he required it, the lives " they held from his goodness, or to devote the " rest of them to his service, if he was so generous " to preserve them a second time. That they " entirely

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

*Indibilis  
sends his  
brother  
Mandonius  
to Scipio,  
who par-  
dons them.  
Liv. xxviii.  
34.*

A. R. 145.  
Ant. C. 206.

“ entirely submitted their fate to the victor, and  
“ expected nothing but what his mercy should  
“ vouchsafe them.”

Scipio after having warmly reproached as well the present as the absent brother with their perfidy, added, “ That they had merited death by their  
“ crime, but that his goodness and that of the  
“ Roman People gave them their lives. That he  
“ should not disarm them, as it was usual to treat  
“ revolted States, it not being necessary to take that  
“ precaution against a revolt he did not fear.  
“ That he would neither exact hostages from them  
“ to secure their fidelity, because, if they failed in  
“ it, his indignation should fall upon them, and  
“ not upon the innocent. That having experi-  
“ enced what the lenity and wrath of the Roman  
“ People could do, it was for them to chuse the  
“ one or the other, and whether they had rather  
“ have them for friends or enemies.”

After having spoke thus to Mandonius, he dismissed him, demanding of him only a certain sum, which he intended for the payment of his troops. As for himself, after having ordered Marcius to march into Hispania ulterior, and to wait for him there, and sent Silanus back to Tarraco, he continued some time in the same place ; to receive from the Illergetes the money he had demanded of them : after which he rejoined Marcius at no great distance from the ocean with great diligence.

*See the story  
between  
Scipio and  
Masinissa.  
Liv. xxviii.  
35.  
App. 275.*

Various reasons had successively deferred the negotiation between Scipio and Masinissa, because that Prince would treat only with the General in person. This obliged Scipio at that time to undertake so long a journey, that removed him so far from the province of Tarraco, where he intended to embark in order to return to Rome. Masinissa was at Cadiz. As soon as he was informed



formed by Marcius of Scipio's arrival, to have a pretext for removing, he told Mago, that his horses were destroyed by remaining in the island, that they were a great burthen to the inhabitants, at the same time that they suffered much themselves from the general scarcity of provisions; besides which, that a long inaction had enervated his troops. By these remonstrances he induced the Carthaginian General to permit him to go to the continent, to ravage the adjacent countries of the Spaniards. From thence, he sent three of the principal Numidians to Scipio, to settle the time and place for an interview, with orders to two of them to remain with him as hostages. The third was sent back to Masinissa, to bring him to the place assigned by Scipio, and they both repaired thither attended only by a small train.

The Numidian Prince had already conceived an high idea of Scipio's merit from the rumour only of his great exploits; and had formed to himself the image of an hero in his person. But the sight of him rose much upon his imagination, and exceedingly increased the esteem and veneration, with which he was already prejudiced in favour of Scipio. (a) And in effect, the noble and majestic air which he naturally had, was exalted by the length and beauty of his hair, and the manly and military choice of his dress, which had nothing affected, or that favoured of luxury, in it. Besides which, he was then in the vigour of life, and the healthy plight of body he had recovered after a long and dangerous illness, had in a manner renewed the flower of youth in him, which still

(a) Præterquam quòd suapte ac militaris; & ætas in medio naturâ multa majestas inerat, virium robore, quod plenius adornabat promissa cæsaries, nitidiusque ex morbo velut renovatus hos juventæ faciebat. Liv.

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

exalted his figure. Masinissa, struck with astonishment at the first sight of him, began by returning him thanks for sending him back his nephew without ransom. He assured him, “ That  
“ from thenceforth he had ardently desired the oc-  
“ casion of an interview with him, and that he  
“ had seized it with joy, the moment the good-  
“ ness of the Gods had made it practicable. That  
“ he passionately desired to do him and the Ro-  
“ man People such services, as never foreign  
“ Prince had rendered them before. That though  
“ he had always had that desire, hitherto he had  
“ not had it in his power to put it in execution in  
“ Spain, which in respect to him was an unknown  
“ and foreign country : but that he assured him-  
“ self, he should be able to effect it in his native  
“ land Africa, where by the right of birth he  
“ was called to the throne. That if the Romans  
“ would send Scipio thither at the head of an  
“ army, he was certain that the power of Carthage  
“ would soon be at an end.”

This interview and discourse gave Scipio great joy. He knew that Masinissa and his Numidians formed the whole strength of the enemy’s cavalry. Besides which, he thought he saw marks of a noble and exalted courage in the visage and eyes of that young Prince. Having given each other their promise, Scipio returned to Tarraco, and Masinissa to Cadiz, after having, in concert with the Romans, carried off some plunder from the adjacent countries, in order that he might not seem to have made an useless voyage to the continent.

*Mago re-  
ceives or-  
ders to go  
to Italy,  
and join  
his brother  
Hannibal.  
Liv. xxviii.  
36.  
App. 275.*

Mago seeing the hope he had founded principally upon the sedition of the Roman soldiers, and afterwards upon the revolt of Indibilis, had vanished, and that the affairs of Spain were absolutely desperate, he prepared to repass into Africa, when

when he received orders from the Senate of Carthage to repair to Italy with the fleet which he had at Cadiz; to take into his pay as many Gauls and Ligurians as he could; and to go and join Hannibal, in order to keep up the spirit of a war, which had been begun with so much ardour, and of which the first successes had been so glorious. In order to execute this command, besides the money that had been sent him from Carthage, he took great sums from Cadiz, having plundered not only the public treasury of that city, but the temples of the Gods, and forced every individual to bring him all the gold and silver they had.

With these aids he put to sea; as he coasted along Spain, having landed his soldiers at no great distance from Carthageria, he plundered the neighbouring countries, and afterwards made his fleet approach the city itself. There having kept his soldiers in their ships during the day, he made them land in the night, and led them to that part of the wall, by which the Romans had attacked and taken the place, believing that the garrison, which had been left in it, was not sufficiently strong for its defence, and that the inhabitants perhaps, dissatisfied with the present government, might make some commotion, of which he might take the advantage. He was entirely mistaken in his hopes. On the first approach of the Carthaginians, the Romans, having opened the gate of the city, fell upon them with great cries, and having made a great slaughter of them, pursued them as far as the coast.

Mago having re-embarked, went to Cadiz in order to re-enter it. But not being received, he came to an anchor with his fleet at Cimbis, a small port not far from that place. From thence he sent deputies into the island, to complain to the inhabitants, that they had shut their gates against him,

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

*He makes  
an ineffe-  
ctual at-  
tempt upon  
Carthage-  
na.  
Liv. ibid.*

*He returns  
to Cadiz,  
of which  
the gates  
are shut  
against  
him.*



A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

him, who was their friend and ally. They laid the blame upon the populace, who, as they said, intended thereby to revenge themselves for some plunder his soldiers had committed before they embarked. He demanded to speak with the principal magistrates. They were no sooner come to him, than he caused them to be crucified, after having flayed them with scourges. It was in this manner he treated the chief persons of a city, not only in alliance with Carthage, but which had one common origin with it. For Cadiz was also a colony of Tyre. From thence he sailed to the island Pityusa, situated an hundred miles from the Continent, and inhabited at that time by the Phœnicians. His fleet was very well received there; and they supplied him not only with provisions in abundance, but also with men and arms, to make up the loss he had sustained before Carthagenæ.

Mago goes  
to the  
islands Ba-  
leares.

Cadiz sur-  
renders to  
the Ro-  
mans.

Liv. xxviii.  
37.

Mago sailed afterwards to the islands Baleares, fifty miles from thence. There are two islands of that name; now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*. The greatest, which was also the most considerable by the number of its inhabitants and soldiers, had a port, where he was in hopes of passing the winter commodiously, into which he was upon the point of entering. But as soon as the Carthaginians approached, the Balearians poured so dreadful a shower of stones upon them, that far from daring to come into the port, they made to sea with the utmost haste. Every body knows, that the Balearians were the most expert people in the world at using the sling. They were formed to this exercise from their earliest infancy, and were not suffered to breakfast, till they had hit a mark with the sling. Mago went to the least of these islands, which was fertile enough, but less populous and warlike than the other. Here he was more successful, and raised two thousand auxiliary troops,  
and

Strab. III.  
168.

and having sent them to Carthage to pass the winter, he caused his ships to be drawn on shore. It appears, that it was from this Mago that the port of Minorca was called *Port-Mabon*, *Portus Magonis*. As soon as Mago had abandoned the coasts of the ocean, the People of Cadiz surrendered to the Romans.

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Ant. C. 206.

After Scipio had entirely driven the Carthaginians out of Spain, he set sail from thence with ten ships to return to Italy, giving the government of the province to L. Lentulus and L. Manlius Acidinus, who had been sent thither to command in quality of Proconsuls. The Senate gave him audience without the city in the temple of Bellona, where he related all that he had done in Spain: how many times he had fought in line of battle; how many places he had taken from the enemy, and how many nations he had subjected to the Roman People. He added, that on his arrival in Spain, he had found four Generals at the head of four victorious armies; and on quitting it, had not left a single Carthaginian in the whole province. He expressed some desire of a triumph, by way of reward for all these services rendered his country: but he did not insist upon it, because he knew that hitherto that distinction had been granted only to those, who held some magistracy at the time they had commanded. Now Scipio went to Spain merely as Proconsul, which was not an office. When his audience of the Senate was over, he entered the city; causing fourteen thousand three hundred and forty two pounds of silver in weight, and a great quantity of coined money to be carried before him, which was put into the public treasury.

Scipio returns to Rome.  
Liv. xxviii. 38.

L. Veturius Philo afterwards held the assemblies for the creation of Consuls: and all the centuries, with unanimous consent and extraordinary marks of

He is created Consul.

of

A. R. 546.  
Ant. C. 206.

of esteem and favour, nominated P. Scipio, and gave him P. Licinius Crassus, the Pontifex Maximus, for his colleague. It was remarkable, that this assembly was more numerous than ever had been since the war began. The citizens came thither from all parts, not only to give their suffrages for Scipio, but also to have the pleasure of seeing him. There was an amazing concourse of People round his house. That multitude attended him, when he went to the Capitol to offer the hundred oxen to Jupiter, which he had vowed in Spain to sacrifice after his return. Every body were assured, that, as Lutatius had terminated the first war with Carthage, P. Scipio would terminate the second, and drive the Carthaginians out of Italy, as he had out of Spain. With this view, Africa was allotted him for his province, as if there was no longer any enemies in Italy. They afterwards proceeded to the election of Prætors.

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Ant. C. 205.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

It was in the fourteenth year of the second Punic war, that P. Scipio and P. Licinius Crassus took possession of the Consulship. Scipio first proposed to the Senate, and obtained leave, to celebrate the games, which he had engaged to do by a vow at the time the soldiers had revolted in Spain, and to take out of the money he had carried into the public treasury, the sums that were necessary for this expence.

*Deputies  
of Sagun-  
tum to the  
Romans.*

*Liv. xxviii.  
39.*

He then introduced the deputies of Saguntum into the Senate, where the oldest of them began in these terms: *Though it be not possible, Fathers, to add any thing to the evils we have suffered in order to retain an inviolable fidelity to you; however, after the benefits we have received from you and your*  
*Generals,*



*Generals, we shall not complain of our fate. They then made a long enumeration of all that had been done for them, first by the two Scipios, and afterwards by him who had lately been elected Consul. It is to thank you for these benefits, so great, that we could not have presumed to hope them from the Gods themselves, that the Senate and People of Saguntum have sent us to you ; and at the same time to congratulate you on the glorious successes your arms have had for some years in Spain and Italy ; that in the first, you have pushed your conquests not only to the Iberus, which formerly bounded your dominions, but to the coast of the ocean, that is, to the extremities of the earth ; and that in the other you have left Hannibal only the space he occupies with his camp, in which you keep him in a manner besieged. We are ordered not only to render the thanks to great Jupiter, which such great blessings deserve, but also to offer him, with your consent, this crown of gold, and to place it in his temple, in gratitude for the victories he hath granted you over your enemies. We implore you to permit us This, and that you would ratify the benefits we have received from your Generals, with your authority.*

The Senate answered the deputies of Saguntum.  
 “ That the ruin and re-establishment of Saguntum  
 “ would be an authentic proof to all nations of  
 “ the inviolable fidelity, which both people had  
 “ observed to each other. That the Generals of  
 “ the Commonwealth, by re-establishing Sagun-  
 “ tum, had acted conformably to the desire of  
 “ the Senate. That they with joy confirmed all  
 “ the advantages they had granted them, because  
 “ by acting in that manner they had only con-  
 “ formed to the will of, and executed the orders,  
 “ which they had received from, the Senate. That  
 “ they permitted them to offer to Jupiter the gift  
 “ they had brought.” Orders were afterwards  
 given, that the Deputies should be lodged and en-  
 VOL. VI. L. entertained

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Ant. C. 205.

tertained at the expence of the Commonwealth as long as they should continue in their territories, and that each of them should have a present of ten thousand \* *asses*. Immediately after the Ambassadors of other nations were introduced to the Senate, and audience was given them. Those of Saguntum having demanded permission to visit as many of the different parts of Italy as they could with safety, guides were assigned them, with letters of recommendation to all the magistrates of the cities to which they should go, with orders to receive them with distinction.

*Dispute concerning the design Scipio had formed of carrying the war into Africa.*

Liv. xxviii.  
40.

After they had gone through these affairs, which were of least consequence, they deliberated upon those of the Commonwealth, and principally upon levying of new troops, and the provinces it was proper to assign to the Generals. All the citizens openly allotted Africa to Scipio: and himself, believing that to confine himself to following Hannibal step by step in Italy, was an employment little glorious, and which suited rather an old man worn out with years, than a young and active warrior like him, did not dissemble, that he thought himself elected Consul, not to continue the war, but to terminate it, which he could not execute unless he went to Africa, and carried the terror of the Roman arms to the walls of Carthage. He even was not afraid to make known, that, if the Senate opposed his design, he would spare no pains with the People to obtain that permission.

*Dispute of Fabius against Scipio.*  
Liv. xxviii.  
40, 42.

The principal Senators disapproved this project; but most of them dared not explain themselves openly, either through fear of the Consul, or the desire of making their court to him. Fabius Maximus, believing himself above these timid reserves, was the first that opened the opinion con-

\* Ten thousand *asses* were worth near five and twenty pounds.

trary to the desires of Scipio. Livy puts the following speech into his mouth. *I am sensible, Fathers, that there are many amongst you, who believe that the subject of our present deliberation is an affair already decided, and that it is lost time to give one's opinion upon the project of making our armies go to Africa this year. But I do not see how any body can think so, as neither the Senate nor People have yet authorized that design: or, if the Consul relies upon the province of Africa as a thing certain, I cannot help saying, that it is on his part not only mocking every Senator in particular, but the whole Senate, to pretend to consult it upon a matter already concluded and resolved.*

*I know, that in opposing this extraordinary ardour for going to Africa, I shall infallibly draw two reflexions upon myself. It will be said, in the first place, that such an opinion is the effect of that slowness, which is pretended natural to me, and which I give young people leave to call timidity and stupefaction, provided persons of sense allow, that if the counsels of others have appeared more specious at first, the event hath shewn hitherto, that mine were most solid and salutary. On another side, I shall perhaps be accused of envying a Consul of great merit, and of being jealous of the glory he acquires every day, of which I am not capable of bearing an increase.*

*But if it does not suffice to exempt me from so injurious a suspicion, to consider either my past life and conduct, the honour of having been Dictator, and five times Consul; or, lastly, all the glory I have acquired, as well in war as peace, and which might rather give me disgust and satiety, than leave room for new desires; my age, at least, ought to acquit me of such a reproach. For indeed can any one imagine, that I could be susceptible of jealousy for a young man, who is not so old as my own son? During my Dictatorship, when I was in the vigour of life, and in the most impor-*



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Ann. C. 205.

*tant and most glorious career, I returned the insults of my master of the horse only with patience and moderation; and I made no opposition either in the Senate, or before the people, to the equality, as injurious as unprecedented; that they were desirous to make, and did actually make, between him and me. I chose rather to use actions than words, to oblige him, whom all the citizens had equalled with myself in command, to place me of his own accord above him. Is it likely then at this time, that full and satiated with honours, I should desire to enter the lists, and to dispute with a young man, who, all estimable as he is in other respects, is but entering upon the career of honour and glory? Will any body imagine, that, weary as I am, not only of public affairs, but of life itself, I have thoughts of supplanting him, to obtain in his stead a commission for carrying the war into Africa? No, no! I must live and die with the glory I have acquired. I stopped the course of Hannibal's victories, to enable the Youth, who were to come after me, to go farther, and overcome him.*

*But you must excuse me, Scipio, if having never had more regard to the esteem of mankind and my own reputation than to the public utility, I likewise do not prefer your glory to the good of the State. Though after all, do I in any wise impeach your glory. Undoubtedly, if we had not a war here, or not to do with an enemy, whom it were not highly glorious to conquer, to keep you in Italy, even with the view of the public good, would be depriving you, with the war, of the means of acquiring honour. But Hannibal being actually in Italy at the head of a considerable army, with which he has kept it in a manner besieged during fourteen years, will you have cause to be dissatisfied with yourself, if during your Consulship, you effectually drive an enemy out of Italy, who has caused us such calamities, and given us so many bloody defeats; and if you have the honour to terminate this*

*second*

second war with Carthage, as Lutatius had that of A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205. putting an end to the first?

I appeal to your own judgment. Can you think it more for your honour to have driven the Carthaginians out of Spain, than it will be to deliver Italy from the war which has destroyed it for so many years? Hannibal is not yet in a condition to make it believed, that a person, who is for going to make war elsewhere, avoids him more out of contempt than fear. You say, that you are only desirous to go to Africa to draw him thither, and give him battle there. But why is it necessary to go so round about a way to work? why not attack him directly where he is? Does not the order of nature require, that you should provide for the safety of your own country, before you attack that of the enemy? that peace should be established in Italy, before you carry the war into Africa; that we should be delivered ourselves from all fear, before we undertake to carry the terror of our arms to the enemy's doors?

If you can do your country this double service, why do it: after having conquered Hannibal here, go and attack Carthage. But if the one of these two advantages must necessarily be reserved for new Consuls, reflect that the first, besides being the most considerable and most glorious in itself, naturally leads on to the second, is the real cause of it, and consequently includes all the honour of it.

I do not mention our impossibility of finding sufficient funds for keeping up two armies at once in Italy and Africa, for fitting out fleets, and for furnishing provisions and all the munitions necessary for troops by sea and land. Independently of that difficulty, which is no small one, there is no body amongst us, that does not conceive to what danger such an enterprize exposes us. For, in a word, should Hannibal be victorious, and march a second time against Rome, (the gods avert so great a misfortune from us; but what we

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A. D. C. 205.

have seen already may happen again :) if then we were in so imminent a danger, could we recal you from Africa, as we did Q. Fulvius from Capua?

But are you sure that fortune will favour you in Africa? The unhappy deaths of your father and uncle defeated and killed with their armies in the space of thirty days after such glorious successes, shews you what you may, and what you ought to, fear.

I should never have done, if I should enumerate all the Kings and Generals, who, in effect of having rashly entered the countries of their enemies, have been entirely defeated with their armies. The Athenians, that wise and prudent Commonwealth, leaving the war they had in their own country, went to Sicily with a numerous fleet under the command of a young warrior, equally illustrious by his birth and valour. What was the consequence of so bold an expedition? A single sea-fight entirely ruined the power of that Commonwealth, which was the most flourishing then in the world.

I am in the wrong to quote foreign and ancient examples. The same Africa, of which we now speak, and the celebrated Regulus, are a sad, but salutary, lesson, which ought to teach us the great inconstancy of fortune.

Believe me, Scipio. When from your ships you shall behold that potent and warlike country, you will own that your Spains were only play in comparison with Africa. And indeed, who does not see the infinite difference between these two expeditions? After having, without any danger, or meeting a single ship of the enemy, crossed the sea, which washes the coasts of Sicily and Gaul, you anchored at \* Emporia, a city in alliance with the Commonwealth, you landed your troops there quietly, which you marched to Tarraco, another allied city, without meeting any ob-

\* A city of Spain in Catalonia.



stacle or danger upon your route, continuing upon the lands of friends and allies. On quitting that city, you were received in countries guarded and occupied by our troops. You found on the banks of the Iberus the armies of your father and uncle, which even their misfortune, and the desire of avenging the death of their Generals, had rendered more formidable than ever. They had L. Marcius at their head, chosen indeed tumultuously, and by the suffrages of the soldiers to command them, but who, except in point of birth, and the advantage of having passed through the great offices, might be ranked with the greatest Captains. You besieged Carthagera entirely at your ease, whilst neither of the three Carthaginian armies made any motion to defend it.

All those actions, and those which followed, of which I am far from intending to depreciate the merit, are by no means comparable in point of difficulty to the obstacles and dangers, which will occur in the war of Africa. We have no port where our fleet can anchor, no country inclined to receive us, no city in our alliance, no King who is our friend, nor any place where we can either incamp or march, without having the enemy immediately upon our hands. Can you rely upon Syphax and his Numidians? It is well for you to have confided in him for once with impunity. Rashness is not always successful; and fraud usually seeks to acquire confidence in things of little consequence, in order to make itself amends afterwards by deceiving with more advantage on some occasion of importance, and worth the trouble: Your father and uncle were not overpowered by the arms of the enemy, till after they were abandoned by the treachery of the Celtiberians their allies; and yourself have not had so much to fear from Asdrubal and Mago, with whom you were at war, as you had from Mandonius and Indibilis, with whom you had contracted an alliance.

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Act. C. 225.

Can you rely upon the fidelity of the Numidians, you who have experienced the revolt of your own soldiers?

It is true, that Syphax and Masinissa had rather possess the empire of Africa themselves, than that the Carthaginians should; but they had rather see the Carthaginians rule there, than any other nation. Jealousy at this time, and different views of interest, animate them against each other, and divide them, because they have nothing to fear from without. But shew them the arms of the Romans, and foreign armies, and they will instantly unite, and run from all parts as to extinguish a conflagration, that menaces them all alike. You know that the Carthaginians have defended Spain with sufficient obstinacy, though at length they have been overpowered. They will shew a much other kind of zeal and courage, when the question shall be to defend their walls, the temples of their gods, their altars and fire-sides: when marching to battle, they shall be followed by their weeping wives, and little children imploring their aid.

And further. May not the Carthaginians, relying upon the strength and goodness of their walls, upon their union with the States of Africa, and the faith of the Kings their allies, send a new army from Africa into Italy, as soon as they shall see us deprived of your aid, and of that of your army? May it not happen, that without detaching their forces from Africa, they may order Mago, who has quitted the islands Balears with his fleet, and is actually coasting Liguria, to join Hannibal? We shall then be in the same alarm, in which we lately were, when Asdrubal entered Italy; that Asdrubal, whom you suffered to escape out of your hands in Spain; you who rely upon blocking up all ways, not only from Carthage, but from all Africa. You will tell me, that you conquered him. And it is for that very reason, that I am sorry, as well for your own honour as the interest

of the Commonwealth, that you left the way to Italy open to a General, whom you had lately defeated.

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I cannot speak more to your advantage than to ascribe to your good conduct all the successes you have had, since you have commanded our armies, and to attribute our disgraces to the inconstancy of fortune. The more valour and ability you have in war, the more interest have Rome and all Italy, to keep so good a defender for themselves. You cannot deny but that the weight of the war is greatest where Hannibal is; as you declare, that you only go to Africa with the design of drawing him thither. Consequently it is against him, that you are to make war either in this country, or that to which you would go. Will you have more advantage over him in Africa, where you will be alone with your army, than in Italy, where you will be seconded by your Colleague, and his troops? Does not the victory still quite recent of the Consuls Claudius and Livius, shew us of what importance it is for the two Consuls to act in concert? Will Hannibal not be more formidable, when he fights under the walls of Carthage, supported by the forces of all Africa, than in a small neck of Bruttium, in which he is now shut up, and where he has so long expected new reinforcements? What a design is it, to choose rather to fight in a place, where your forces will be less by one half, and those of the enemy much more numerous, than here, where you will have two armies to employ against one, already weakened by so many battles, and fatigued with so long and so laborious a war?

Consider what difference there is between your conduct, and that of your father. After having been elected Consul, he set out to command in Spain: but when he received advice, that Hannibal was passing the Alps to enter Italy, he returned immediately to give him battle on his descent from those mountains. And you who see Hannibal in Italy, you think of re-  
moving



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*moving from it ; not that you believe this enterprize advantageous to the Commonwealth, but because you imagine, that it will be more for your honour : as when you abandoned your province and army, without being authorized either by an order of the People, or a decree of the Senate ; and when putting to sea with two galleys only, you exposed with your person both the safety of the Commonwealth, and the majesty of the Roman People, who had confided the command of their armies to your conduct.*

*As for me, Fathers, I think, that P. Scipio was elected Consul, not for himself, but for us and the Commonwealth ; and that the troops which he commands were raised for the defence of Rome and Italy, and not in order that our Consuls, assuming a despotic authority, as if they were Kings, might transport them where they think fit, and make them subservient to their own ambitious designs.*

Fabius, by this discourse which he had prepared with care, brought the greatest part of the Senate into his opinion. The Seniors in particular were persuaded by the authority of that great man, and did not hesitate to prefer his consummate wisdom and experience to the impetuous valour of a young Consul. Scipio had gone too far to go back : and besides convinced with reason of the beauty and utility of his project, and personally piqued with the little reserve with which Fabius had treated him, he was far from being inclined to sacrifice his own opinions to him. He therefore spoke in his turn to the following effect. *Fabius himself, Fathers, rightly perceived, as he owned at first, that his opinion might be suspected of jealousy. As for me, I dare not tax so great a man with any such thing : but, either for want of his not having well explained himself, or because he really has the truth against him, he does not seem to me to have entirely purged himself of that suspicion. For, to persuade us, that he did*  
 not

not act from envy, he enlarged in magnificent terms A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.  
 upon the honours through which he has passed, and  
 the reputation he has acquired by his exploits; as if I  
 was to put myself upon a foot with only common per-  
 sons, and that, if I was to apprehend jealousy from  
 any one, it could not be from him, who, having at-  
 tained to the highest point of glory, to which I own  
 I aspire as well as he, could not be sorry that I should  
 one day become his equal. He mentioned his age, and  
 makes me younger even than his son; as if the desire  
 of glory were confined to this mortal life, and did not  
 extend its views to the latest posterity. I am per-  
 suaded that great souls compare themselves not only  
 with the illustrious men of their own times, but with  
 the heroes of all ages. As to me, I will not dissemble  
 with you, Fabius, I have conceived the design not  
 only of equalling, but if I can (permit me to say it)  
 of surpassing you: and may it not please the Gods,  
 that either you, in respect to me, or I in respect to  
 those that shall succeed me, should fear that any citi-  
 zen might resemble us. Such a disposition would be  
 injurious not only to those whom we should envy, but  
 also to the whole Commonwealth, or to speak more  
 properly, to all human race.

Fabius has very much exaggerated the dangers, to  
 which I shall expose myself, if I go to Africa; inso-  
 much that he seemed to fear for me, as well as for  
 the Commonwealth. But from whence on a sudden  
 proceeds this anxiety for my life and reputation. Af-  
 ter my father and uncle had been killed, their armies  
 almost entirely defeated, the Spains lost, and four  
 Carthaginian Generals at the head of four armies kept  
 the whole country in subjection; and lastly, when in  
 the assembly for the election of a General to command  
 in that province, no body, except myself, offered  
 themselves, so that the Roman People were obliged to  
 confide the care of a war so much despaired of to me  
 at the age of four and twenty: why was there no body  
then,

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*then, that represented the weakness of my years, the strength of the enemy, the difficulties of the war, and the recent deaths of my father and uncle? Have we had at this time any loss more bloody, than that we had then sustained in Spain? Are there in Africa more able Generals and more numerous armies, than there was then in Spain? Had I then more experience and capacity for making war than I am capable of having at this time? Are the Carthaginians more formidable enemies to us in one country than in another?*

*It is very easy, after I have defeated and put to flight four Carthaginian armies; after I have taken so great a number of cities either by force, or capitulation; after I have subdued so many Princes, Kings, and fierce and barbarous nations; and carried my conquests as far as the coasts of the ocean; in a word, after having reduced all Spain under our power, so that there does not remain the least shadow of a war in it: it is, no doubt, very easy to depreciate my actions. It will also be as easy, when I have conquered and subjected Africa, to lessen the objects which we now magnify, and which, in terms full of emphasis and exaggeration, we represent as dreadful things; and all to keep me in Italy.*

*Fabius affirms, that we have no means of landing in Africa; that we have no port open to us upon the coasts: and at the same time he tells us of the defeat and prison of Regulus, as if that General had miscarried on his entrance into that province. And he will not remember, that the same Regulus, as unfortunate as he was afterwards, found means however to enter Africa; that the first year he obtained very considerable advantages over the enemy, and that he was always invincible, as long as he had only the Carthaginians to deal with. It is therefore in vain, Fabius, that you endeavour to deter me by his example*



ple. Though his misfortune had happened very lately, A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205. and in the present war, and not in the First above forty years ago; why should the defeat and captivity of Regulus prevent me from going to Africa, after that the defeat and deaths the two Scipios have not prevented me from going to Spain? Why should I not pique myself upon rendering my country the services which the Lacedæmonian Xanthippus was capable of rendering Carthage? His example can only serve to augment my confidence, in shewing me, that a single man may cause such amazing resolutions.

You also cite the Athenians, who leaving the enemy in the heart of their own country, went rashly to Sicily. But since you have leisure enough to tell us these Greek stories, why don't you rather speak of Agathocles, King of Syracuse, who to deliver Sicily from the ravages, which the Carthaginian troops had long committed there, went to the same Africa, and carried the war into the very bosom of a country, from whence it had before came to infest Sicily?

But why should we search into antiquity, and amongst strangers for examples to prove how much advantage there is in being the invader, in removing the danger from our own country, and carrying it into that of the enemy? Does not Hannibal himself supply us with the most immediate and strongest proof of this? There is a wide difference between ruining foreign territories, and seeing our own destroyed. He who attacks has more courage than he who defends. Besides which, unknown objects, and such as we consider only at a distance, always seem most to be dreaded. In order to judge of what we are to hope or fear from an enemy, we must enter his country, and see it with our own eyes. Hannibal was never in hopes of making all the States of Italy revolt against the Romans, that went over to him after the battle of Cannæ. How much less zeal and attachment will the Carthaginians find from the States of Africa; they, who are no less

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Ant. C. 205.

*perfidious in respect to their allies, than rigid and cruel in respect to their subjects?*

*Besides which there is a wide difference between Rome and Carthage. Abandoned by our allies, we supported ourselves with our own forces, and by the valour of Roman soldiers; whereas the Carthaginians employ only mercenary troops, Africans and Numidians, the most inconstant and most perfidious in the universe.*

*Provided I am not detained here, you will hear at the same time of my arrival in Africa, the ravaging of the whole country, the precipitate retreat of Hannibal, and the besieging of Carthage. Expect to receive news from Africa, both more frequently and more agreeable than you did from Spain. I have not conceived these hopes at a venture. They are founded upon the fortune of the Roman People, upon the protection, which we have reason to expect from the Gods, the witnesses and avengers of the infraction of the treaty by the Carthaginians, and upon the alliance of the Kings Syphax and Masinissa, in whose amity I shall so confide as to keep myself well upon my guard against their inconstancy.*

*The circumstances of times and places will discover many advantages to me, which I cannot discern at this distance; and it is the part of a wise and able General, to seize the favourable occasions that offer, and to turn accidents to his advantage by his good conduct.*

*I shall have Hannibal for my antagonist, as you desire, Fabius: but I shall draw him after me into his own country, rather than he keep me in mine. I shall force him to fight at home, and Carthage will be the reward of the victor, not some half-ruined forts in Bruttium.*

*You say that Rome and Italy will be in danger, whilst I am crossing the sea, landing my troops in Africa, and advancing towards Carthage. But*  
have

have a care, Fabius, that you do not affront and injure my illustrious colleague, in believing him not capable of defending his country against Hannibal, weakened, and almost reduced as he is at present, as you were capable of stopping his rapid progress at a time when he had all his forces, and when exulting from three successive victories, he marched with an high hand into all parts of Italy as into a conquered country.

After all, though the design I propose were not the most proper for speedily terminating this war, it would however be for our honour to make known to foreign kings and states, that we have courage enough not only to defend Italy, but to attack Africa. It would be shameful for the Roman People, that it should be said, none of their Generals dared form a project like that of Hannibal; and that Africa having been so many times attacked and ravaged by our fleets and armies during the first war, which had only Sicily for its occasion; now, when the safety of Italy is the question, it should enjoy a perfect tranquillity. It is time that Italy should have rest, after having suffered such a series of fire and sword. It is time, that Africa in its turn should feel the scourge which war brings along with it. Before Rome, from the top of her walls, sees the enemy's army incamped at its gates a second time; let us shew the Carthaginians from their ramparts, the Roman legions, menacing their country with impending ruin. Let Africa be from henceforth the theatre of the war. Let us repay it all the calamities it has made us suffer: terror, flight, ravaging of countries, desertion of allies, and all the other ills, which we have experienced during fourteen years.

And this is what I had to say upon the affairs of the Commonwealth, and of the project of the approaching campaign. I should be afraid of tiring you with useless and ill-timed discourse if, after the example



A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

*ple of Fabius, who has taken pains to depreciate my successes in Spain, I should undertake to exalt my own reputation upon the ruins of his. But I shall do nothing of that kind, Fathers; and young as I am, I will have the additional honour of outdoing a man of his years in moderation and reserve. You may have observed in my whole conduct, that, without seeking to set myself off, I have always been satisfied with the esteem I might have given you occasion to conceive for me rather from my actions, than my words.*

*Reflexion  
upon Fa-  
bius's  
speech.*

This is a warm dispute, a kind of trial between two great men, who each pleaded their own cause with abundance of eloquence. I leave the reader to determine finally upon it. Livy does not explain himself in respect to the secret motive, that animated Fabius in this place: but he puts a speech into his mouth, which sufficiently makes it known. It would be no wonder (and so Plutarch judges of it) that a person of this wise Protractor's character, should condemn so hazardous an enterprize, as that of transferring the war into Africa seemed to be, and that he should set all the dangerous consequences he conceived he saw in it, in their full light. But his warm manner of undervaluing in all things the great successes of Scipio, and of lessening the glory of his exploits, and magnifying with an evident malignity his pretended faults, is very like the language of jealousy and envy. The violent ardor with which we shall soon see him on all occasions labouring to prevent Scipio's enterprize, seems to evidence the sentiments of his heart. Fabius was certainly a great man; but he was a man. We have admired his moderation and patience in his dispute with Minucius. He was at that time sustained by the inward sense and conviction of his superiority of merit over his rival. But here, the sight of a rising merit, which he cannot dissemble, and of which the lustre, that will continually augment,

augment, may obscure the reputation, which a long series of years and services have acquired him, give him an uneasiness, of which he is no longer master, and breaks in upon that calm situation of soul, in which he was in effect the possession of a glory, no body had yet disputed with him.

However it were, the Senate were not satisfied with the discourse of Scipio, because a report had spread, that if he did not obtain their permission to go to Africa, he would demand it of the People. It was for this reason Q. Fulvius, who had been four times Consul and Censor, called upon the Consul to declare in presence of the Senators, whether he would refer the distribution of the provinces to them, or would lay the affair before the People. And as he answered that he should act as he

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

*Scipio, after some doubt, refers the question to the Senate, who permit him to go to Africa.*

Liv. xxviii. 45.

thought most for the advantage of the Commonwealth: *If I have asked you this question,* replied Fulvius immediately, *it was not because I did not know beforehand what your answer would be, and what you intended to do. For you yourself have sufficiently shewn, that you only intended to sound, not to consult, the Senate; and that if we did not immediately grant you the province you desire, you have a proposal ready drawn up to present to the People. Therefore, Tribunes, I desire your aid in the refusal I make of giving my opinion, solely for this reason, that though it should be followed by the whole Senate, the Consul would not conform to it.* A dispute arose upon this, Scipio pretending that the Tribunes had no right to authorize a Senator to refuse to give his opinion, when demanded by the Consul. But the Tribunes, without paying any regard to his representations, decreed in these terms: *If the Consul refers the distribution of the provinces to the Senate, we decree, that he shall abide by what shall be decided, and do not permit that the affair shall be brought before the People. If he does not refer it to*

A. R. 547.  
 ANL C. 205.

*the Senate, we are ready to aid those who shall refuse to explain themselves upon this article.* The Consul demanded a day to consider of it with his Colleague.

The next day, Scipio declared that he submitted to the judgment of the Senate. In consequence, the Senate made the distribution of the provinces between the two Consuls without drawing lots, because the dignity of Great Pontiff did not permit Licinius Crassus to quit Italy. Sicily was decreed to Scipio, with the thirty galleys commanded by C. Servilius the year before; and he was permitted to go to Africa, if he judged it for the service of the Commonwealth. Licinius was charged with the war against Hannibal in Bruttium, with the army of one of the Consuls of the preceding year, at his own choice. The other provinces were also distributed. The Games, which Scipio had vowed, were then celebrated. The concourse of the people was great, and he was present at those Games with great Satisfaction. Presents were sent to Delphi, to give Apollo part of the spoils taken from Asdrubal.

*Fabius traverses Scipio's enterprise as much as he can.*

Liv xxviii.

45.

Plut. in

Fab. 188,

189.

Fabius not being able to prevent permission being given Scipio to go to Africa, if he thought proper, employed his whole credit to traverse him in the execution of his Design. Permission to make new levies having been refused Scipio, through the secret intrigues of his adversary, he confined himself to demanding, that he should at least be allowed to carry with him all the volunteers, that he could engage to join his army. Fabius opposed this with his whole power. He exclaimed in the Assemblies both of the Senate and People, “ that it did not suffice  
 “ Scipio to fly from Hannibal, if he did  
 “ not also carry away with him all the for-

ces



“ces that they had left in Italy, feeding the youth  
 “with false hopes, and persuading them to a-  
 “bandon their fathers, wives, children, and ci-  
 “ty, at the gate of which he saw a powerful  
 “enemy, hitherto always invincible.” Notwith-  
 standing this warm clamour, Scipio obtained what  
 he demanded, and seven thousand volunteers join-  
 ed him.

A. R. 547.  
 Ant. C. 205.

Fabius had prevented the Funds necessary for  
 his armament to be assigned him. Scipio, not to  
 disgust the Senate, did not insist much upon this  
 article. He contented himself with demanding  
 that he might be permitted to receive the different  
 Succours from the Allies, with which they should  
 be willing to supply him for building new ships:  
 this could not be refused him. We see here how  
 necessary it is to a General to acquire the affection  
 of the world. The question was to set twenty  
 gallies on foot (*quinquiremes*) and ten of four  
 benches of oars; the zeal of the Allies was so  
 great, that piquing themselves in emulation of  
 each other to assist the Consul speedily, and each  
 according to their power, forty-five days after the  
 wood had been brought from the forests, the  
 ships were put to sea entirely equipped and arm-  
 ed.

*Wonderful  
 zeal of the  
 Allies.*

Every thing being ready, Scipio set out for Si-  
 cily and Licinius for the country of the Brutii.  
 Of the two armies which he found there, he  
 chose that which had served under the Consul  
 L. Veturius. Metellus kept the command of  
 the other. The Prætors also set out for their pro-  
 vinces.

*Scipio sets  
 out for Si-  
 cily, and  
 his Col-  
 league in  
 Bruttium.  
 Liv. xxviii.  
 46.*

As money for carrying on the war was want-  
 ing, the Questors were ordered to sell part of  
 the territory of Capua, which had been confis-  
 cated for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

A. R. 547.  
A. U. C. 205.

The Prætor of the city had orders to take care that the Campanians should inhabit no places but those assigned them, and to punish such as did otherwise.

*Mago  
lands in  
Italy, and  
seizes Ge-  
noa.  
Liv. ibid.*

During this campaign, Mago the son of Amilcar, quitted Minorca, where he had staid during winter, and carried with him about twelve thousand foot, and about two thousand horse, all chosen youth, whom he had embarked on board thirty galleys accompanied with a great number of transports. And as there was no hopes to guard the coasts, he first took the city of Genoa ; and from thence, endeavouring to excite some revolt, he took the advantage of the occasion of a war between two States of Liguria, to make an alliance with one of them against the other, and then entered upon action. But he was obliged considerably to diminish his forces by sea ; and having left his plunder at Savo with ten ships to guard it, he sent the rest of his fleet to Carthage, to defend the maritime coast against the enterprizes of Scipio, who was said to be upon the point of going to Africa. The army of Mago increased from day to day, the Gauls, whom his reputation had attracted, coming in to join him.

This news very much alarmed the Senators. They ordered M. Livius the Proconsul immediately to march the army under his command in Etruria to Ariminum ; and the Prætor Cn. Servilius to make the legions of the city quit Rome, if he believed that the service of the Commonwealth required it. He gave the command of them to M. Valerius, who led them to Arretium.

At the same time, Cn. Octavius took around Sardinia, of which he was Prætor, about fourscore Carthaginian barks, laden with corn for Hannibal's army.

Nothing

Nothing passed this year in Bruttium, that merits being related. Contagious diseases made great havock both amongst the Roman and Carthaginian troops; and to increase the misfortune, the latter had abundance to suffer from famine. Hannibal passed the whole campaign near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where he erected an altar, which he consecrated, and upon which he caused to be engraved in Greek and Punic characters, and in magnificent terms, an ample enumeration of his military exploits.

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

### S E C T. III.

*Scipio arms three hundred Roman Knights at the expence of a like number of Sicilians. He chuses out of the legions the oldest and most experienced soldiers. He takes all the necessary measures for his great design. He regulates some affairs of Sicily. Indibilis renews the war in Spain. Battle, in which Indibilis is killed, and his army defeated. Mandonius, and the other authors of the revolt, are delivered up to the Romans. Lælius ravages Africa with his fleet. Alarm of Carthage. Measures taken by the Carthaginians for putting themselves into a state of defence. Masinissa comes to Lælius, and complains of the delay of Scipio. Lælius returns to Sicily. Mago receives convoys from Carthage. Locri retaken from the Carthaginians. Avarice and cruelty of Pleminius and the Romans in the city of Locri. Combat in that city of the Romans with each other. Pleminius treated cruelly by two Tribunes. The latter causes the Tribunes to be put to death with unheard-of cruelty. Disease in the army of the Consul Licinius. The mother of the Gods, called Idæa Mater, is brought from Pessinus to Rome. Scipio Nasica is de-*



*clared the best and most worthy man of Rome. Decree of the Senate against the twelve colonies, who had refused to pay their contingents. The sums lent the Commonwealth by private persons are ordered to be repaid. Deputies from Locri sent to Rome. The mournful complaint of the Locrians against Pleminius. Fabius speaks with abundance of virulence against Scipio. The Senate appoints commissioners to examine the affair of Pleminius, and the complaints against Scipio. The commissioners set out for Locri, Pleminius is condemned, and sent to Rome. The commissioners arrive at Syracuse. Scipio is fully vindicated. Return of the commissioners to Rome. Death of Pleminius. Scipio highly praised in the Senate. Reflexion upon the conduct of Fabius in respect to Scipio.*

A. R. 547.  
 Ann. C. 205.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
 P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

*Scipio arms three hundred Roman horse at the expense of a like number of Sicilians.*  
 Liv. xxix.

SCIPIO was no sooner arrived in Sicily, than he formed many corps of the volunteers, who had followed him thither. But he reserved three hundred of the handsomest, youngest, and most vigorous men, which he kept about his person without arms. They could not imagine what this distinction meant, nor for what they were intended. In the mean time he chose amongst the Sicilians, most considerable by their birth and fortune, three hundred horsemen, to go with him to Africa, and assigned them a day when they were to assemble, and appear before him mounted and equipped as he had ordered. This war, which was to tear them from the bosom of their country, and expose them both by sea and land, to labours and dangers to which they were not accustomed, gave them extreme anxiety, as well as their families. On the day fixed they presented themselves before

before Scipio with their arms and horses. *I understand*, said that General to them, *that there are some amongst you, who are very averse to going with me to Africa. Those who are of this mind will do me a pleasure in declaring it now. They may be assured, that I shall not take it ill of them in the least; liking much better that they should explain themselves here, than that they should defer their complaints when we shall be upon the spot, where they will be only useless soldiers to the Commonwealth.* One amongst them was bolder than the rest, and made no difficulty to own to Scipio, that he would remain in Sicily, if he might be allowed that liberty. *Young man*, said Scipio, *as you speak your mind so ingenuously, I am going to supply you with a soldier who shall take your place, and to whom you shall deliver your arms, horse, and all your other equipage of war. Carry him home with you immediately, and take care that he is taught to do the exercise, manage an horse, and handle his arms.* The young Sicilian having accepted this condition with joy, Scipio gave him one of the three hundred, to whom he had not yet given arms. All the rest, seeing their comrade discharged without having displeased the General, excused themselves as the first had done, and gave their place to him that was presented to them. In this manner three hundred Roman horse were equipped at the expence of as many Sicilians, without costing the Commonwealth any thing. The Sicilians took upon themselves the care of instructing and exercising them; and it was said, that they became an excellent body of cavalry, and did the Commonwealth great service in several battles.

He then reviewed the legions, and chose out the oldest soldiers, especially those who had served under M. Marcellus, because he believed them the best disciplined and fittest for besieging cities, from

*He chuses the oldest and most experienc'd soldiers out of the legions.*

A. R. 547.  
 Ant. C. 205.

the experience they had of that of Syracuse, which had continued so long. For Scipio proposed nothing less at this time than to attack and destroy Carthage.

*He takes  
 all the ne-  
 cessary  
 measures  
 for his  
 great de-  
 sign.*

The winter approaching, he distributed his army into the cities, ordered the several States of Sicily to supply him with corn, in order to spare that which he had brought from Italy; caused the old ships to be careened, and sent them under the command of C. Lælius to plunder the coasts of Africa, laid the new ones upon their sides near Palermo, because having been built in haste with green wood, it was necessary that they should remain dry during the winter.

*He regu-  
 lates some  
 affairs of  
 Sicily.*

Having taken all the measures necessary for putting himself into a good condition for opening the approaching campaign, he came to Syracuse, which had not yet well recovered the rude shocks she had undergone during the war. The inhabitants coming to him to request, that he would cause estates to be restored which some Italians had taken from them during the war, and kept with the same violence even since the Senate had decreed their restitution, he thought himself principally obliged to cause the public faith to be observed. It was for this reason that he reinstated the Syracusans in the possession of their estates, first by an edict, and then by giving judgment against such, as persisted obstinately in retaining their prey. This act of justice gave a sensible pleasure, not only to those, who had the advantage of it, but to all the other States of Sicily, who, out of gratitude, made the greatest efforts to aid Scipio in this war. It was this goodness and justice of the Generals and Governors of provinces, which caused the Roman government to be revered.

During



During this same campaign, a dangerous war broke out in Spain, at the instigation of Indibilis Prince of the Illergetes, who had no other reason for revolting than his esteem alone for Scipio, which rose so high as to inspire him with contempt for all the other Captains of the Commonwealth. He was convinced, “ that he was the only General “ that remained of the Romans, all the rest having been killed by Hannibal. That it was on “ that account only, that after the defeat of the “ two Scipios in Spain, they could find none but “ him, that they could send to succeed them; and “ that afterwards, seeing themselves extremely “ pushed in Italy, they had been obliged to recall him to oppose Hannibal. That, besides “ that those, who actually commanded in Spain, “ were Captains only in name, all the veteran “ troops had been drawn from thence. That the “ soldiers who had been left there, were only raw “ troops, who would be terrified at the sight of “ the least danger. That there never would be so “ favourable an occasion for delivering Spain from “ the yoke of the Romans. That the Spaniards “ had been slaves till then, either to the Carthaginians, or the Romans, and sometimes to both “ nations at once. That the Carthaginians had “ been driven out of the country by the Romans: that if the Spaniards would unite, and “ act in concert, it would be easy for them to “ drive out the Romans also, and to resume the “ manners, laws, and customs of their forefathers, by delivering themselves for ever from “ all foreign subjection.” By such discourse, he made not only his own vassals, but the Aufetani, and other adjacent States, take arms. In very few days he assembled thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse in the country of the Sedetani, where he had ordered them to rendezvous.

On

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.  
*Indibilis*  
*renews the*  
*war in*  
*Spain.*  
Liv. xxix.  
2.  
App. 276.

A. R. 547.  
A. C. 205.

On another side L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, who commanded for the Romans, did not think it proper to neglect these first motions, that might have important consequences. Having joined their forces, they entered the country of the Ausetani, and crossing it without putting it to fire and sword, they arrived in view of the enemy, from whom they were not above three miles distant. They tried at first the method of negotiation, to induce them to return to their obedience, and to lay down their arms. But the Spaniards made no answer, but sending out their cavalry against the Roman foragers, to whose aid that of the Romans came ; which occasioned a battle of the horse, in which nothing memorable passed on either side.

*Battle in which Indibilis is killed, and his army defeated.*  
Liv. xxix.  
2.

The next day a battle ensued in all the forms. Both sides fought with great courage. The victory was long doubtful, till the king (Indibilis) having received many wounds, and afterwards a mortal one with a javelin, those who fought round him fled, and drew after them the rest of the army. The Romans pursued them with vigour, and made a great slaughter of them. Thirteen thousand Spaniards were killed, and eight hundred taken. The Romans lost hardly two hundred men, as well citizens as allies.

The Spaniards who escaped dispersed first into the country, and then retired to their respective cities. They were afterwards summoned by Mandonius to hold an assembly : in which, weary of the war, they complained bitterly of those who had induced them to renew it, and were of opinion, that Ambassadors should be sent to the Romans, to deliver up their arms, and to submit again to their power. When those deputies arrived in the camp of the Romans, after having ascribed the revolt to Indibilis, and the other great persons,

persons, most of whom had been killed in the battle, they submitted themselves, and their whole nation, to the victors. The Roman General answered, that they would accept their offer only upon condition, that they would deliver up Mandonius, and the other authors of the revolt; that otherwise they were going to march their armies into the country of the Illergetes, Aufetani, and the other revolted States.

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 208.

The deputies having reported this answer in the assembly, Mandonius and the other chiefs were seized immediately, and delivered up to the Romans. The Spaniards were granted peace, but double taxes were laid upon them for this year; corn was demanded of them for six months, and habits for the army; and thirty of the States were obliged to give hostages. The revolt of Spain having been quelled in this manner in a very short time, and without much difficulty, the whole forces of the Commonwealth were turned against Africa.

*Mandonius and the other authors of the revolt are delivered up to the Romans.*

C. Lælius having approached Hippos in the night, made the soldiers of the fleet quit the ships at day-break, and led them to plunder the country. As they found no resistance from the inhabitants, who were as quiet as in time of peace, they put all to fire and sword. The news of it, when carried to Carthage, filled the city with terror and consternation. It was given out, that the fleet of the Romans, commanded by Scipio, was arrived: for it was known that he was already in Sicily. As, on this first landing, they could not exactly know either the number of the ships, of which the enemy's fleet consisted, or of the soldiers who ravaged the country, fear, always ingenious in augmenting the evil, magnified the danger. They in consequence abandoned themselves at first to terror and a kind of despair, then to sad and gloomy reflections,

*Lælius ravages Africa with his fleet. Liv. xxix. 4.*

*Alarm of Carthage.*



A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 205.

reflexions, in considering “ that fortune had so  
 “ changed face in respect to them ; that after hav-  
 “ ing seen their victorious army incamped at the  
 “ gates of Rome, after having defeated so many  
 “ armies of the enemy, and subjected all the States  
 “ of Italy either by treaty or force, they them-  
 “ selves were upon the point of seeing, by a most  
 “ fatal reverse of fortune, Africa ravaged, and  
 “ Carthage besieged by the Romans ; with this  
 “ difference, that they had much fewer resources  
 “ than the Romans for sustaining the like calami-  
 “ ties. That the people of Rome, and the coun-  
 “ try of the Latines, supplied them with a Youth,  
 “ that seemed to spring up again out of their own  
 “ ruins, and to multiply in some measure after  
 “ their great defeats. That as to them, neither  
 “ Carthage, nor the country, could furnish them  
 “ with soldiers ; that they employed only the  
 “ mercenary troops of Africa, always ready, up-  
 “ on the least hope of more gain, to change  
 “ masters, and to break their faith. That of the  
 “ two Kings, who were formerly their allies,  
 “ Syphax had no longer the same attachment for  
 “ them, since his conference with Scipio, and  
 “ Masinissa had openly abandoned them, and  
 “ was become their greatest enemy. That they  
 “ had no longer either hope or resource. That  
 “ besides, Mago had not succeeded in arming the  
 “ States of Gaul against the Romans, and had not  
 “ yet been able to join Hannibal. And lastly, that  
 “ the reputation of Hannibal himself declined  
 “ every day, as well as his forces.”.

*Measures  
 taken by  
 the Car-  
 thaginians  
 to put  
 themselves  
 into a state  
 of defence.*

The same terror, which upon the first news of the arrival of the Roman fleet, had damped and discouraged them, roused them afterwards, and they began to deliberate upon the means of defending themselves against the danger that threatened them. It was resolved, that levies should be immediately

mediately made both in the city and country ; that officers should be sent into different parts of Africa, to fetch auxiliary troops ; that the city should be fortified ; that provisions and arms as well offensive as defensive should be brought into it ; and that a fleet should be fitted out to be sent to Hippo against that of the Romans.

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

At the time that they were employed in these preparations, they were at length informed, that it was Lælius, and not Scipio, who had arrived ; and that he had brought no more troops than were necessary for making incursions into the country, but that the weight of the war was still in Sicily. This news gave them time to breathe ; which did not prevent them from sending Ambassadors immediately to Syphax, and the other Kings of the country, to put them in mind of the alliance, that subsisted between them and the Carthaginians. They sent some also to King Philip, with orders to offer him two hundred talents of silver (two hundred thousand crowns) to induce him to go to Sicily or to Italy. They also sent deputies to Italy, by whom they recommended it to their Generals to employ, in order to keep Scipio there, all possible means for striking terror in the Romans. As to Mago, with the deputies they sent him five and twenty ships of war, six thousand foot, eight hundred horse, seven elephants, and very considerable sums of money, to be employed in raising the auxiliary troops, with which he might be in a condition to approach Rome, and to join Hannibal. Such were the measures, which the Carthaginians took to secure themselves against the designs of the enemy.

In the mean time Lælius took immense spoils in the country, which he had found without defence or troops, when Masinissa, who had received advice of the arrival of a Roman fleet, came to him

*Masinissa comes to Lælius, and complains of Scipio's severity.*

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

him with a small number of horse. He complained to him of the slowness of Scipio, representing to him, “ That he ought already to have  
“ come to Africa with his army, whilst the Car-  
“ thaginians were in a consternation, and Syphax  
“ was employed in a war with him (Masinissa).  
“ That that Prince was actually at a loss, and  
“ fluctuating between an Alliance with the Ro-  
“ mans, and one with the Carthaginians. But  
“ that if time were given him to put his affairs in  
“ order, he would not observe any part of the en-  
“ gagement he had entered into with the Romans.  
“ That he should therefore use all possible instances  
“ with Scipio to induce him to come as soon as pos-  
“ sible to Africa. That as for himself, though  
“ he had been obliged to abandon his dominions,  
“ he should not fail however to join the Romans  
“ with considerable aids of infantry and cavalry.  
“ For the rest, he exhorted Lælius to remove  
“ from Africa, adding, that it was very proba-  
“ ble, that the fleet of the enemy was sailed from  
“ Carthage, and advised him not to give it battle  
“ in Scipio’s absence.” After this conference, Masinissa took his leave of Lælius; and the latter set sail the next day with his ships laden with plunder, and returned to Sicily, where he imparted to Scipio the advice given him by Masinissa.

*Lælius re-  
turns to  
Sicily.*

*Mago re-  
ceives con-  
voys from  
Carthage.  
Liv. xxix.  
5.*

Almost at the same time, the ships which had been sent from Carthage to Mago, arrived in Italy near Genoa. Mago, in consequence of the orders which he had received, raised as many troops as was possible. The Gauls did not dare to supply him with any openly, because the Roman army was actually either in their territory, or the neighbourhood. M. Livius made the army he commanded, march from Etruria into Gaul, and joined Sp. Lucretius, with design either to advance  
to



to meet Mago, in case he quitted Liguria to approach Rome; or, if the Carthaginians remained quiet in a corner of the Alps, to continue in the country in the neighbourhood of Ariminum, for covering Italy.

When Lælius returned into Sicily, Scipio animated by the Remonstrances of Masinissa, had no less impatience to go to Africa, than the soldiers to follow him thither, when they saw the immense plunder Lælius had brought from thence. But this great project was still retarded by a less important enterprize, of which the occasion offered itself indirectly. The question was to retake the city of Locri, which in the general defection of Italy, had quitted the Romans, to go over to the Carthaginians.

Upon Advice which Scipio received at Syracuse of an intelligence secretly carried on for putting Locri again into the hands of the Romans, he caused three thousand soldiers to move thither from Rhegium, and charged the Proprætor Q. Pleminius with that enterprize. Himself advanced to Messina, to be nearer at hand to receive news of all that passed. The three thousand men being arrived in the night at Locri, were received into the citadel, from whence they fell upon the Carthaginian sentinels, whom they found asleep. In the trouble and confusion of so unforeseen an attack, the Carthaginians struck with terror, and without thinking of defending themselves, took refuge in the second citadel: for there were two at no great distance from each other. The inhabitants were masters of the city, that being placed between the two enemies, was upon the point of becoming the prey of that, which should remain victorious. Every day skirmishes passed between those who sallied from the two citadels. Q. Pleminius commanded the Romans, and Amilcar the Carthaginian

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205

*Locri retaken from the Carthaginians.*  
Liv. xxix.  
6—8.

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

nian garrison, and both calling in aid from the neighbouring places, gradually augmented the number of their soldiers. At length Hannibal himself marched to the aid of his troops and the Romans would have been overpowered, if the people of Locri, exasperated by the pride and avarice of the Carthaginians, had not declared for their antient allies.

As soon as Scipio was informed of what passed at Locri, and that Hannibal in person was upon the point of arriving there, that he might not suffer the troops to perish, whom he had sent into a danger, out of which they could not extricate themselves without help, he set out instantly from Messina, where he left his brother Lucius in his place. Hannibal was already arrived upon the banks of a river, which was not far from Locri, and, from thence, had sent a courier to his troops, to order them to draw the Romans and Locrians on to a battle as soon as it was day, and to continue it, till he should come to attack the city on one side, whilst every body should be attentive to what passed on the other. The Roman fleet however arrived at Locri some hours before night. Scipio landed what troops he had brought, and before sun-set entered the place with them. The next day the Carthaginians having quitted their fortrefs, began the battle ; and Hannibal, having resolved to scale the city, already approached the walls, when on a sudden the Romans, having caused the gates to be thrown open, made a vigorous salley that very much surprized him, for he did not know, that Scipio had entered the place. They killed two hundred men. Hannibal made the rest retire into his camp, as soon as he knew that the Consul was at the head of the enemy ; and having caused those who were in the fortrefs to be told to take care of themselves, he decamped the

the following night. The Carthaginians, seeing themselves abandoned, chose the next day to set fire to the houses, which were in their power, in order to stop the enemy by the tumult, which the flames would occasion; and having quitted the citadel, they rejoined Hannibal before night.

Scipio, seeing that the enemy had abandoned their citadel and camp, assembled the Locrians; and having given them a severe reprimand upon the subject of their revolt, he punished those with death who had been the authors of it, and gave their estates to the heads of the opposite faction by way of reward for their inviolable fidelity. He added, in respect to the Locrians in general, “ that he would not take upon him either to grant  
“ favour to, or inflict punishment upon, them.  
“ That they should send deputies to the Senate, to  
“ whom alone it belonged to determine their fate.  
“ That in the mean time, what they might be assured of was, that notwithstanding their infidelity to the Roman People, they would find it  
“ better to be under the Romans justly incensed,  
“ than they had been under the Carthaginians  
“ whilst their friends and allies.” Afterwards, having left Pleminius as his lieutenant to guard the city with the troops he had brought thither, he returned to Messina with those that came with himself.

Whilst the Locrians had been under the Carthaginians, they had been treated with such haughtiness and cruelty, that one would think they might have born moderate oppressions, not only with patience, but almost with a kind of joy. However (who would believe it) Pleminius, and the Roman soldiers, who guarded the city under his command, so far exceeded Amilcar and the Carthaginian garrison in all kinds of excessive avarice and inhumanity, that it might be said, they

*Avarice and cruelty of Pleminius and the Romans in the city of Locri.*  
Liv. xxix.



A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

proposed to themselves less to excel the enemy by arms, than by audacity in committing the greatest crimes. In the bad treatment which the commandant and soldiers made the unfortunate inhabitants suffer, they omitted nothing, that makes the poor and the weak hate and detest the power of the great and the strong. There were no kinds of infamy and cruelty that they did not inflict upon them, their wives, and children. Their avarice did not spare even sacred things, and, not to mention the plunder of other temples, it rose so high as to take away the treasure of that of Proserpina, upon which, hitherto, no one had presumed to lay hands except Pyrrhus only, who afterwards thought with horror of that sacrilege, and believing himself pursued by the divine vengeance, brought back into the temple all the treasures he had taken out of it.

The storm which Pyrrhus suffered after his crime was considered as a punishment from heaven: and Livy accordingly ascribes in this place to the wrath of the gods, the fury and rage with which all those were seized, who had shared in this last sacrilege, and which armed the commanders against the commanders, and the soldiers against the soldiers, to destroy each other with a barbarity that hath no example.

*Combat of  
the Ro-  
mans with  
each other.  
Pleminius  
treats two  
Tribunes  
cruelly.  
Liv. xxix.  
9.*

Pleminius had the principal command in the city, and the troops under him which he had brought from Rhegium, and Scipio had sent two legionary Tribunes thither from Sicily, who in like manner commanded the soldiers he had given them. One day as one of Pleminius's soldiers was making off with a silver cup, pursued by the People of the house where he had taken it, he accidentally met in his way the Tribunes Sergius and Matienus, who took the cup from him, which he had stolen. He upon that began to cry out,

out, and call his comrades to his aid, who ran to him that moment, as well as the soldiers of the Tribunes; so that their numbers insensibly increasing on both sides with the tumult, a battle at last ensued in form, between the troops of Pleminius and those of the Tribunes. The soldiers of Pleminius having been worsted, ran to their leader, shewing him their wounds and the blood with which they were covered, raising great cries, exaggerating the violence of their adversaries, and even imputing to them the having called Pleminius by the vilest names during the battle.

That commandant thereupon, in excessive rage, quitted his quarters instantly, and having summoned the Tribunes before him, after having ordered them to be stript, he commanded them to be whipt with rods. Some time passed before this order could be executed, because the Tribunes defended themselves, and implored the help of their soldiers. Accordingly the latter having been apprized of what passed, ran from all parts of the city, as if the signal had been given for a battle with the enemy. Upon their arrival they saw, that they had already began to flea their officers with rods. This sight transported them with a rage still more violent than their first; so that forgetting in a moment, not only the respect which they owed the majesty of the command, but trampling all sense of humanity under foot, they began by treating the Lictors of Pleminius with the utmost cruelty. Then having cleared their way through all that could defend him, they fell upon Pleminius himself, gave him a thousand blows, and, after having cut off his nose and ears, left him almost dead upon the spot.

Scipio having been apprized of this at Messina, where he still was, returned to Locri in one galley, and having taken cognizance of the affair, he gave

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

*Scipio gives the cause in favour of the Pleminius.*

A. R. 547.  
A. U. C. 205.

the cause in favour of Pleminius, continued him in the authority he had in the city, declared the Tribunes criminal, and ordered that they should be carried to Rome to the Senate in chains. After this he returned to Messina, and from thence into Syracuse.

*Pleminius  
puts the  
two Tri-  
bunes to  
death with  
the sword of  
cruelty.*

But Pleminius, full of fury and rage, complained, that Scipio had not done him entire justice, and persuading himself, that no body was a better judge of the punishment such an injury deserved, than he who had suffered it; he ordered the Tribunes to be brought before him, caused them to be flead with a thousand stripes, and after having made them suffer all the torments it was possible to imagine; not contented with having seen them expire before his eyes, he caused their bodies to be thrown upon the dunghill, and forbad that interment should be given them. He treated the principal persons of Locri with the same cruelty, who had been to complain of his oppressions and injustice; and from thenceforth, his anger and revenge made him redouble the excesses, to which only his avarice and brutality had inclined him before. He thereby not only became himself the object of the curses and abhorrence of the public, but reflected disgrace upon the General who had put him in office.

*Disease  
spreads in  
the army  
of the Con-  
sul Licini-  
us.  
Liv. xxix.  
10.*

The time of the assemblies for the election of Consuls approached, when letters from the Consul Licinius were received at Rome, by which the Senate were informed, “ that a disease spread in his  
“ army, that himself had it; and that it would  
“ have been impossible to oppose the enemy, if  
“ the same distemper had not also spread in their  
“ camp with still greater violence. That for this  
“ reason, not being able to come to Rome him-  
“ self, he would, if the Senate approved it, no-  
“ minate Q. Cæcilius Metellus Dictator, to hold  
“ the assemblies in his place. That it was pro-  
“ per



“ per to dismiss Metellus’s army ; because on  
 “ one side, it was of no use, as Hannibal had put  
 “ his troops into winter-quarters ; that besides the  
 “ distemper made such horrible havock amongst  
 “ them, that not a single soldier of them would  
 “ be left, if they were not separated as soon as  
 “ possible.” The Senate answered the Consul,  
 that they left him at liberty to act therein as he  
 should judge most expedient for the good of the  
 Commonwealth.

The Romans were a little disturbed in thought upon account of its having rained stones, (that is to say large hail) that fell frequently enough during this year : which had obliged them to consult the books of the Sibyl. An oracle was found in them, that declared ; that when a foreign enemy should bring the war into Italy, the means of conquering and driving him out again, was to seek the goddess *Idæa Mater* at Pessinus, and to bring her to Rome. This Goddess was also called *Rhea*, *Ops*, *the mother of the Gods*, and the epithet *Idæa* came from mount *Ida* in Phrygia, where she was adored with a peculiar worship. The most revered of her temples was in the city of Pessinus. The Senators were the more affected with this prediction found in the Sibyl’s books by the Decemviri, as the deputies who had carried the offering to Delphi, of which we have spoke above, reported that Apollo Pythius, after having accepted the sacrifice, had answered, *That the Romans were upon the point of gaining a much greater victory over the enemy, than that which had occasioned the sending of the presents, that had been offered to him.* To these two motives of hope, they added the extraordinary confidence, which had induced Scipio to demand the province of Africa ; a confidence, that might be considered as an assured presage, that he would terminate that war to the advantage

A. R. 547.  
 Ant. C. 205.

*The mother of the gods, called Idæa Mater, is brought from Pessinus to Rome.*  
 Liv. xxix.  
 10, 11, 14.  
 App. bell.  
 Annib.  
 345.

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

of the Romans. Therefore to hasten the accomplishment of the fates, presages and oracles, that promised them victory, they considered the measures that were to be taken for bringing the goddesses to Rome.

For this purpose they sent M. Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice Consul, Ambassador to Attalus King of Pergamus, with whom they had been allied in the war against Macedonia; persuaded that Prince would readily incline to do every thing in his power, that might be agreeable to the Roman People. Lævinus had four colleagues with him. Five galleys (*Quinqueremes*) were given them, in order that they might appear with dignity amongst the states they were sent to, to whom it was thought proper to give an high idea of the Roman People. In their voyage to Asia, they touched at Delphi, where they consulted the oracle, to know what success they should have in the enterprize that was the purpose of their commission. They were answered, “ That  
“ by the assistance of King Attalus, they should  
“ obtain what they went so far to seek. That  
“ when they brought the goddesses to Rome, they  
“ should cause her to be received by the worthiest  
“ man of that city.” They arrived at Pergamus, from whence Attalus, after having received them in a very kind and honourable manner, conducted them to Pessinus in Phrygia. He there put into their hands a stone, which the inhabitants held in great veneration, calling it *the mother of the gods*, and told them they had only to carry it to Rome.

When they were upon the point of arriving, M. Valerius Falto, one of the deputies, set out before to give notice of the near approach of the goddesses, and to tell them to find out the best man, and the most worthy to receive the goddesses, as the oracle of Delphi had directed. It was a great difficulty

ficulty for the Senate to determine who the best man of the Commonwealth was. (a) *There was not a single citizen, says Livy, who would not have preferred this preference justly acquired, to all the commands and dignities, that could be obtained by the suffrages of the Senate or People.* (b) *Search all the archives of the State, says an Author, and all the triumphs related in them, and you will find that there is no glory comparable to that of holding the first rank amongst the men of worth.* There is therefore in virtue a most real greatness, as it merits the preference to whatever else is most shining, and most pursued. But it is surprizing, that amongst so many great men of such high renown, and whose merit was so generally confessed at Rome, so honourable a distinction should fall upon a young man not quite seven and twenty years of age. This was Publius Scipio, surnamed Nasica, son of Cneus, who was killed in Spain. It is unfortunate for us, that history does not inform us what qualities determined the Senate to pass judgment in this point.

A. R. 547.  
Ant. C. 205.

*Scipio Nasica is declared the worthiest man of the whole Commonwealth.*

Young Scipio had orders to go to Ostia to meet the goddess with all the Roman ladies, to take her out of the ship, and to put her into the hands of the women. When the vessel entered the Tiber, an accident happened, if we may believe historians, which occasioned great surprize and affliction: the ship stopped on a sudden, and it was not possible to make it move forwards. Upon this Claudia Quinta, one of the Roman ladies, whose reputation had till then been dubious (in

Sueton. in Tib. c. 2.

Appian

(a) *Veram certè victoriam ejus rei sibi quisque mallet, quàm ulla imperia honoresve suffragio seu Patrum seu Plebis delatos.*

(b) *Explica totos fastos, constitue omnes currus triumphales, nihil tamen morum principatu speciosius reperies. Val. Max. VIII. 15.*



A. R. 547.  
 Anti. C. 205.

effect of too much care in adorning her person) prayed the gods that, if the suspicions in prejudice of her virtue were without foundation, the ship, to which she had made fast her girdle in order to draw it, might follow her ; which happened that moment. Scipio having entered it, took the goddesses from the hands of the priests, and carried her to shore, where she was received by the Roman ladies. They successively shared in the honour of carrying so glorious a burthen, and entered the city, from which the whole People came out to meet the goddesses, and all the way vases smoking with incense were placed to honour her as she passed. At the same time all places resounded with the prayers addressed to her, to enter Rome auspiciously as into her abode, and to establish her residence there. And lastly, she was placed in the temple of victory upon mount Palatine, and this day became a festival with the Romans from thenceforth. There was not a single citizen to the lowest, who did not carry his offering to mount Palatine. The following days the ceremony of the \* *Leetisternium* was performed, and games were exhibited, which were called *Magalesia*, that is *the great Games*, from the name of the goddesses, *great mother of the Gods*.

For the rest, as we have said before, this goddess sought with so much care, brought from such a distance, expected with so much impatience, received with so much joy and so many marks of veneration, was nothing but a stone without form or sculpture. Can we read of divine honours rendered to this vile stone by a people so wise in other respects, without deploring the sad effects of idolatry, and without returning thanks with the warmest gratitude to the God of Mercy who has preserved us from them ?

\* *This feast has been spoken of elsewhere.*

M. COR-

M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

A. R. 548.

P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Ant. C. 204.

We come now to the fifteenth year of the second war with the Carthaginians. Whilst the Senators were deliberating upon the recruits for the legions, some of them remonstrated, that the Commonwealth, by the favour of the gods, being at length delivered from the dangers and fears, which had alarmed it during so many years, it was time to suffer no longer what those unhappy conjunctures had obliged them to tolerate. This proposal having excited the curiosity and attention of the Senate, they added, that the twelve Latin colonies, which, in the Consulship of Q. Fabius and Q. Fulvius had refused to furnish their contingents, had enjoyed during almost six years an entire exemption from all the expences of the war, as an honourable privilege granted them for their good services; whilst the dutiful and obedient allies, in reward of their fidelity, were exhausted by levies made every year in their countries.

This discourse putting the Senators in mind of a kind of rebellion, which they had almost forgot, at the same time revived the rage and indignation it deserved. Accordingly the Senate, being desirous that this affair should be regulated before any other, decreed, that the Consuls should order the twelve colonies in question, each to send their magistrates and ten of their principal citizens to Rome. That when they should arrive they should tell them “ that each should supply the Roman  
 “ People with twice the number of foot they had  
 “ ever furnished since the enemy were in Italy,  
 “ when the levies were greatest; and with an  
 “ hundred and twenty horse over and above.  
 “ That if any of them had not horse enough, they  
 “ should

*Decree of  
the Senate  
against the  
twelve co-  
lonies, who  
had refused  
to furnish  
their con-  
tingents.*  
Liv. xxix.  
15.

A. R. 548. " should be allowed to supply three foot soldiers  
 AUL. C. 204. " for each horseman. But that they should take  
 " care to chuse men of each kind, that were ea-  
 " siest in their circumstances, and to send them  
 " out of Italy to all places that had occasion for  
 " recruits. That, if any of them should refuse to  
 " obey, their magistrates and deputies should be  
 " laid under arrest without being allowed audience  
 " when they demanded it, till they had complied.  
 " That further, the same colonies should pay a  
 " tax of one for every thousand *asses* of their va-  
 " lue, and that an account of their persons and  
 " estates should be taken in such manner as the  
 " Roman censors should prescribe, that is, ac-  
 " cording to the method used amongst the Roman  
 " People; and that the censors of the colonies,  
 " before they quitted their office, should deliver  
 " in their registers to Rome, where they should  
 " make oath, that they were drawn up according  
 " to the direction of the Law."

In virtue of this decree, the magistrates and principal persons of the colonies were cited to Rome, where the will of the Senate was declared to them in respect to the troops and the tax. They all declared, more or less, against an exaction, which seemed to them excessive. They represented, " that they were not able to supply  
 " so great a number of soldiers. That they could  
 " scarce furnish the contingent mentioned in the  
 " treaty. That they desired as a favour, that  
 " they might be permitted to enter the Senate, in  
 " order to make their remonstrances. That they  
 " had not deserved to be crushed in such a man-  
 " ner; but that, if they must be destroyed, nei-  
 " ther their fault, nor the anger of the Senate,  
 " could make them furnish more soldiers than they  
 " had." The Consuls, without abating any thing that had been decreed, kept the deputies at Rome,  
 and



and sent home the magistrates into their colonies in order to raise the troops, declaring to them, "that they should have no audience, till they brought the men required of them." Thus having nothing to hope in the Senate, they made the levies prescribed them in the twelve colonies, and easily found the number of soldiers demanded, because their youth had time to increase, during so many years as they had enjoyed a total exemption.

Another affair, which had been buried in silence still longer than the former, was afterwards proposed by L. Valerius Lævinus. He said, that it was proper at length to repay to many private persons the sums they had thought fit to advance for the Commonwealth in his Consulship, and that of M. Claudius, whilst they were in office together. That no body ought to wonder at his making it a personal interest to see the publick faith discharged, as he had not only been Consul the year that money had been lent, but that himself had proposed that voluntary contribution, the public treasury being exhausted, and the people not being in a condition to pay the common taxes. This opinion pleased the whole Senate; and the Consuls having been desired to bring the affair upon the carpet, it was decreed that those debts should be discharged in three payments, of which the first should be made immediately by the Consuls for the current year, and the two others by those who should be in office the third and fifth years following.

The arrival of the deputies from Locri, who came to Rome to complain of all the ills they suffered, and of which they had not been apprized till now, suspended all other business, and engrossed the attention of the whole city. The public indignation declared itself less against the crimes and impiety of Pleminius, than against the inexcusable

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

*The sums lent the Commonwealth by private persons are ordered to be paid.*  
Liv. xxix. 16.

*Deputies from Locri sent to Rome.*  
Liv. xxix. 16.

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

cusable negligence of Scipio in an affair of such importance, and his blind indulgence in respect to an officer universally condemned: for these were the things imputed to that General. The sequel will shew with what foundation.

The deputies of the Locrians, to the number of ten, in mourning habits, carried olive branches in their hands, according to the custom of the Greeks, when they asked favours; and presenting them to the Consuls, who were sitting upon their Tribunal, in the Forum, they prostrated themselves at their feet with lamentable cries and groans. The Consuls having asked them, who they were, and what they would have, they answered, that they were Locrians, and that they had suffered such cruel injuries from Pleminius and the Roman soldiers, as the Roman People never inflicted upon the Carthaginians themselves. They desired permission to address the Senate, in order to explain their misery to them.

*Complaint  
of the Lo-  
crians a-  
gainst Ple-  
minius.  
Liv. xxix.  
17, 18.*

When they had obtained audience, the eldest of them spoke to the following effect: *I know, Fathers, that in order to your judging rightly of our complaints, it is necessary that you should know in what manner Locri was deliver'd up to Hannibal, and how we returned to our duty to you, after having driven out the Carthaginian garrison. For, if we can demonstrate evidently to you, that the public council of Locri had no share in the revolt, and that it was not with our consent, but by our strenuous endeavours and courage that you regained possession of our city, you will be more sensibly affected with the atrocious and enormous outrages, with which your lieutenant and soldiers have overwhelmed good and faithful allies.*

*But I believe it proper to refer the explanation of the causes that occasioned this double revolution, to another time; and that for two reasons. First, in order*

order that this affair may be treated in the presence of <sup>A. R. 548.</sup> Scipio, who retook our city, and is an irreproachable <sup>Ant. C. 204</sup> witness of all we may have done, good or bad : and in the second place, in whatsoever manner we may have acted in respect to you, we certainly could not have deserved the evils we have been made to suffer.

We cannot deny, Fathers, that as long as Amilcar was in our city with his Numidians and Africans, we did suffer inhuman and horrid treatment from them : but that bears no comparison to what we now undergo. I beg, Fathers, that you will not take offence at what I am going to say, and which I do not repeat without extreme repugnance. It may actually be said, that all mankind expect in suspense which of the two People, the Romans or Carthaginians, shall become masters of the Universe. Now, if the choice were to be determined by the injuries we have received from the Carthaginians, or those we actually now receive from your garrison, there is no body that could not prefer their government to yours. And however, these are the sentiments of the Locrians in respect to you. When we suffered much less cruel treatment from the Carthaginian garrison, we had recourse to your General. And now when we undergo from your garrison injuries, that far exceed the most cruel hostilities, it is to you only that we address our complaints.

Q. Pleminius, your lieutenant, was sent to Locri to retake it from the Carthaginians, and continued there with the same troops he had employed for the expedition. This officer, (for the excess of our injuries give us courage to speak freely) has nothing either of the man, except the form, or of the Roman, except the habit and language. He is a monster in nature, like those which fable supposes to have seized the Strait which separates us from Sicily, for the misfortune of those who sail along the coasts of both. And were he the only one who exercised his avarice, cruelty and brutality over your allies, we might perhaps, by our  
patience,



A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204

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A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

*patience, suffice for that gulph as deep and immense as it is. But he has given such a loose to licentiousness and disorder, that he has made every centurion, every soldier, a Pleminius. There is not one of them who does not rob and plunder; who does not beat, wound and murder: not one, who does not ravish the married women, and the youth of both sexes, after having torn them by force out of the arms of their parents. Every day our city is in a manner taken by storm; every day it is plundered. Night and day the mournful cries of women and children taken by force, and carried off, are heard. To say all in one word, there is not a family, not a person, at Locri, who has not suffered their share in the miseries I speak of; and there is no kind of injustice, violence and disgrace, not practised there.*

*But there is one circumstance that affects us more than all the rest, because it regards the gods; and in which it is not indifferent that you should be informed, because it might, if it passed with impunity, draw down their vengeance upon you. We have in our city a temple of Proserpina, the sanctity of which you no doubt have heard mentioned at the time when you were at war with Pyrrhus. It cost that Prince dear for having taken the treasures out of that temple, which had hitherto been inviolable. His fleet was shattered by a dreadful storm, and all the ships that had the treasures of the goddess on board, were dashed to pieces upon our coast. So terrible a disaster at length opened the eyes of that Prince, notwithstanding his pride and haughtiness: he owned, that there were gods, and having caused all the money he had taken to be amassed, he caused it to be carried back into the temple of Proserpina. This satisfaction did not prevent him from being unfortunate all the rest of his life. Having been driven out of Italy, he ended his days at Argos by a death equally unhappy and unworthy of his past glory.*

*Your*



Your Lieutenant and Tribunes, though well acquainted with this fact, and many others of the like nature, have however not refrained from laying their sacrilegious hands upon these treasures, and to contaminate themselves, their houses, and your soldiers with so abominable a prey. I should be afraid, Fathers, if you did not take care to expiate their sacrilege by an exemplary reparation, that the goddess would take vengeance of your Commonwealth, which is innocent of it, as she has already of the criminal. They have formed two parties. Pleminius commanded one of them, and the legionary Tribunes were at the head of the other. They have come to blows several times, with no less animosity and fury, than if they were fighting with the Carthaginians. They have committed unheard-of cruelties on both sides. And in this manner does the goddess punish the violators of her temple.

As to what relates to the injuries we have sustained, we neither have had, nor ever shall have, recourse to any but yourselves to avenge them. We do not ask you to give credit to our complaints immediately, and that you should condemn Pleminius unheard. Let him appear in person: let him hear our accusations, let him refute them. If in any thing we have advanced, there be found the least exaggeration, we do not refuse to be delivered up by you to all his fury, to all his brutality.

When the deputies had done speaking, Fabius asked them, whether they had complained to Scipio. They answered, “ That they had sent deputies to him: but that he was engrossed by making preparations for the war, and that he was actually either embarked, or upon the point of embarking for Africa. That besides, they had experienced the Lieutenant’s influence with the General, when upon his taking cognizance of the affair between that officer and the Tribunes,

A. R. 548. " Tribunes, he had caused the latter to be put in  
 Ant. C. 204. " prison, whereas he had continued that officer  
 " in place, though at least as criminal, or even  
 " more so, than them."

*Fabius*  
*speaks a-*  
*gainst Sci-*  
*pio with*  
*great*  
*warmth.*  
 Liv. xxix.  
 19. After this account, the Locrians were dismissed,  
 and the Senate took the matter into consideration.  
 Many sharply attacked, not only Pleminius, but  
 Scipio himself. Q. Fabius spoke with the most  
 warmth in reproaching Scipio, " That he was  
 " born to corrupt military discipline. That ac-  
 " cordingly in Spain the sedition of his soldiers  
 " had done the Commonwealth more hurt than  
 " the arms of the Carthaginians. That by a li-  
 " cence hitherto unknown amongst the Romans,  
 " and purely tyrannical, he sometimes acted in  
 " respect to the troops with excessive indulgence,  
 " and sometimes with a rigour that rose even to  
 " cruelty. He concluded, that Pleminius should  
 " be brought to Rome, and kept in prison till his  
 " trial; and that, if the accusations of the Lo-  
 " crians should be proved true, he should be  
 " strangled in prison, and his whole fortune  
 " should be confiscated. That Scipio should be  
 " recalled to Rome for having quitted his pro-  
 " vince without the Senate's permission; and that  
 " the Tribunes of the People should be prevailed  
 " upon to make the People divest him of his  
 " command. That the Locrians should be an-  
 " swered, upon their being called in, that the Se-  
 " nate and People had no share in the oppressions  
 " they complained of, and were highly affected  
 " with them. That they should be told, they were  
 " considered at Rome as persons of worth and  
 " honour, and as good and faithful allies. That  
 " their wives, children, and estates should be re-  
 " stored to them. That an exact account should  
 " be taken of the treasures plundered, and that  
 " double the sum should be replaced in the tem-  
 " ple.

“ ple. That a sacrifice of expiation should be  
 “ offered, after previously consulting the college  
 “ of Pontiffs; to know from them the ceremonies  
 “ necessary to be observed in it, to what gods to  
 “ address, and what victims it was necessary to  
 “ offer for expiating the sacrilege of those who  
 “ had plundered the treasures of Proserpina. And  
 “ lastly, it was his opinion. that all the soldiers  
 “ in garrison at Locri should be transported to  
 “ Sicily, and that four cohorts of the Latin allies  
 “ should be sent thither in their room.”

A. R. 548.

Ant. C. 204.

The dispute between those who favoured Scipio and were against him, prevented the voices from being taken, or any thing determined that day. Besides the crimes of Pleminius, and the misery of the Locrians, that General was reproached with dressing himself \* unbecoming a soldier, and especially a Roman. To this was added, “ That  
 “ he passed his time in hearing rhetoricians and  
 “ philosophers, and in judging of the strength and  
 “ address of Athletæ. That his officers, and his  
 “ whole house lived in the same effeminate man-  
 “ ner in the midst of the pleasures of Syracuse.  
 “ That he seemed to have forgot Carthage and  
 “ Hannibal. That his whole army wallowing  
 “ in the same licentiousness, which had corrupted  
 “ the soldiers of Sucro and those of Locri, was  
 “ more formidable to the allies of the Roman  
 “ People than to their enemies.”

*The Senate*

Though these accusations, partly true and partly false, were supported with some probability, the Senate gave in to the opinion of Q. Metellus, who agreed with Fabius in all points, except what concerned the person of Scipio. “ What would be  
 “ thought, said he, if after having chosen Scipio

*nominate*

*commissioners to en-*

*quire into*

*the affair*

*of the Lo-*

*crians, and*

*the com-*

*plaints a-*

*gainst Sci-*

*pio.*

*Liv. xxix.*

\* It was for using a cloak and sandals, which were peculiar to the Greeks. Cum pal-

lio crepidisque inambulate in gymnasio.



A. R. 548.

AEL. C. 204.

“ whilst very young for recovering Spain, which  
 “ he hath effected with great prudence and va-  
 “ lour ; if after having created him Consul to ter-  
 “ minate the war ; if at the time that he gave  
 “ reason to hope that he would force Hannibal to  
 “ quit Italy, and would conquer Africa, we should  
 “ recall him on a sudden from his province, and  
 “ force him to return to Rome with Pleminius,  
 “ by condemning him in some measure without  
 “ hearing him ; and the rather as the Locrians  
 “ have declared, that it was in his absence they had  
 “ been oppressed with all the ills they complained  
 “ of, and that in consequence, he could be re-  
 “ proached at most with only having had too much  
 “ indulgence for the commander he had left in  
 “ their city. That it was his opinion, that the  
 “ Prætor M. Pomponius, to whom Sicily had  
 “ fallen by lot, should be made to set out in three  
 “ days for that province ; that the Consuls should  
 “ send ten Senators as commissioners, with two  
 “ Tribunes of the People and an Ædile along with  
 “ him ; and that the Prætor, with this council,  
 “ should take cognizance of the whole affair.  
 “ That if they should discover, it was by Scipio’s  
 “ consent the violences complained of had been  
 “ exercised upon the Locrians, that then he should  
 “ be ordered to quit his province. That in case  
 “ he should be gone to Africa, the two Tribunes  
 “ and the Ædile, with such two of the commis-  
 “ sioners as the Prætor should chuse, should set  
 “ out immediately for Africa : the Tribunes and  
 “ Ædile, to bring Scipio back to Rome ; and  
 “ the two commissioners to command the army,  
 “ till a new General should be sent in his place.  
 “ That if, on the contrary, M. Pomponius, and  
 “ the ten commissioners of the Senate, should  
 “ find, that Scipio had no share in the misfortunes  
 “ of the Locrians, he should then continue at the  
 “ head

“ head of his troops, and carry on the war ac- A. R. 548.  
“ cording to his plan.” Ant. C. 204.

The decree of the Senate having been drawn up according to this opinion, which was very *The com-  
missioners* wise and well limited, the Tribunes of the People *set out for* were desired to chuse out of their number, or by *Locri.* lot, the two who were to set out with the Prætor *Pleminius* and commissioners. The college of Pontiffs was *is condem-  
ned and* consulted upon what was necessary to be done for *sent to* expiating the thefts and sacrileges committed at *Rome.* Locri in the temple of Proserpina. The Tribunes, *Liv. xxix.* who set out with the Prætor and the commissioners, *20, 21.* were M. Claudius Marcellus, and M. Cincius Alimentus. A Plebeian Ædile was associated with them, who was, by their order, to seize Scipio, in case he should refuse to obey the Prætor either in Sicily or in Africa, if he was gone thither, and to bring him to Rome, in virtue of the sacred and inviolable authority annexed to the office of the Tribunes of the People. This council thought proper to repair to Locri before they went to Messina.

They began by laying Pleminius in irons, and sending him to Rhegium, with thirty two of his accomplices. After which their first care was, according to the instructions they had received, to perform all that religion required for the expiation of the sacrilege. Having therefore seized all the money, that Pleminius and his troops had plundered, and added to it that which they had brought with them, after having replaced the whole in the temple of the goddess, they offered to her a sacrifice of expiation.

The Prætor afterwards assembled the garrison, and ordered them to quit the city, and to incamp in the midst of the country, forbidding every soldier, upon pain of the most severe punishment, to remain in the place, or to carry away any thing

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

with him, that did not belong to him. He then gave the Locrians permission to take their effects wheresoever they found them, and to call for whatever might have disappeared. But above all things, he commanded, that all the free persons should be delivered up, threatening the greatest chastisement to those who should presume to retain any one whatsoever. And lastly, having assembled the Locrians, he declared to them, “ that  
“ the Roman Senate and People restored them  
“ their liberty and laws. That if any of them  
“ was desirous to accuse Pleminius, or any other  
“ person, they had only to follow him to Rhe-  
“ gium. That if they intended to accuse Scipio  
“ in the name of their city, for having either or-  
“ dered or approved the violences, that had been  
“ committed against them, they should send their  
“ deputies to Messina, and that he would there  
“ examine the whole affair with his council.”

The Locrians gave great thanks to the Prætor and commissioners, and to the Roman Senate and People, adding, that they would accuse Pleminius. “ That as to Scipio, though he seemed little  
“ sensible to their miseries, he was a person  
“ they chose rather to have for a friend than an  
“ enemy. That they were fully convinced, it  
“ was neither by his order, nor consent, that such  
“ enormous oppressions had been committed.  
“ That he had either believed Pleminius too  
“ much, or the Locrians too little. That there  
“ were persons who naturally were enemies enough  
“ to crimes, to desire they should not be commit-  
“ ted ; but who had not resolution, enough to  
“ punish them when they were.”

This discourse, which justified Scipio, gave the Prætor and commissioners great pleasure, who were thereby discharged from a very ungrateful part of their commission. They condemned Pleminius,  
and



and with him about two and thirty more, whom they sent to Rome bound hand and foot. As to themselves they set out for Sicily, in order to examine in person, whether the reproaches made Scipio upon his particular conduct and the little discipline of his army, had any foundation, and to give an account of them afterwards to the Senate.

Scipio having received advice, that they approached Syracuse, prepared to vindicate himself by effects, and not by words. He made his troops assemble, and gave orders, that the fleet should hold itself in readiness, compleatly manned and equipped, as if he was give the Carthaginians battle that very day both by sea and land. The day they arrived, he received them at home with abundance of respect and politeness; and the next morning, shewed them both the sea and land armies, not only in a condition to give the enemy battle, but each exhibiting the image of a battle in their different manner of exercise. He then conducted the Prætor and commissioners to the magazines and arsenals, where they found in abundance, and in the best order possible, all the provisions, arms and machines necessary in war. The sight of these preparations, as well in gross and in general, as in detail and particular, filled them with such admiration, that they remained fully convinced, that if the Carthaginians could be conquered, it must be by this General and this army. They therefore exhorted Scipio to go to Africa with the protection of the gods, and to accomplish, as soon as possible, the hopes which the Roman People had conceived the day when all the centuries had elected him Consul; and they set out from Sicily with the same joy, as if they were returning to Rome to carry the news of the victory thither; and not of the grand preparations,

*The commissioners arrive at Syracuse. Scipio is fully vindicated.*  
Liv. xxix. 22.

*Return of the commissioners to Rome.*

A. R. 548. which Scipio had made to put himself into a con-  
 Ant. C. 204. dition to obtain it.

*Death of  
 Pleminius.  
 Liv. XXIX.  
 22.*

Pleminius and his accomplices having been carried to Rome, were immediately put in prison: and at first, having been brought before the People by the Tribunes, they found them so much prejudiced against them by the injuries they had done the Locrians, that there seemed no hope of any indulgence for them. But as they were frequently made to appear in the Forum, the mutilation of Pleminius, in effect of catching the eyes of the People, made compassion insensibly succeed to hatred and indignation; besides which, regard for Scipio, though absent, contributed much to incline the multitude in their favour.

Authors differ concerning the manner in which that wretch ended his life. According to some, he died in prison before the People had passed sentence upon him. Others say, he remained some years in prison; at the end of which, having prevailed upon some abandoned wretches to set the city on fire in different parts, in order to escape by favour of the tumult, he was discovered, and strangled in the dungeon.

*Scipio  
 highly ap-  
 plauded in  
 the Senate.*

As to what regards Scipio, his affair was never treated any where but in the Senate, in which all the commissioners and Tribunes unanimously spoke with such great praises of his fleet, his army, and personal merit, that all the Senators unanimously decreed, that he should go as soon as possible to Africa, leaving him at liberty to chuse out of the troops in Sicily those he would take with him, and those he should leave behind to guard the province.

*Reflection  
 upon the  
 conduct of  
 Fabius in  
 respect to  
 Scipio.*

Thus ended the important commission given to several of the principal magistrates of Rome, of which the chief object was Scipio, for whose advantage it terminated; but it did no honour to Fabius. Whatever great and just esteem the latter's exalted

exalted merit had acquired him, his conduct in respect to Scipio, gives room for violent suspicions of jealousy and envy ; vices alone capable of sullying the most glorious reputation. He opposes that young General's design of going to Africa ; and he does it with a rancour and inveteracy that favour strongly of those bad passions, though covered and disguised, perhaps even to himself, under an apparent zeal for the public good. The design having been approved in the Senate against his opinion, he employs his whole credit to thwart the execution of it, by preventing him from being supplied with the necessary funds, and from being permitted to make new levies. Scipio having surmounted all these obstacles, and gone to Sicily, Fabius catches at flying reports against him, and without farther enquiry concludes for recalling him, and divesting him of the command. Can we see in such a proceeding the wisdom of an old man so worthy of veneration in other respects ? We have here an effect of (*a*) self-love, soothed and sustained by long success, and of a too great esteem for one's own excellency, which can suffer no rival.

(*a*) *Nimius sui suspectus, & suaque mirandi. Senec. de*  
*insitum mortalitati vitium se Benef. II. 26.*



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## BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

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# THE ROMAN HISTORY.

**T**HIS book contains the history of almost five years, from the 548th to the 552d year of Rome. The principal facts included in it are, the arrival of Scipio in Africa, the burning of two of the enemy's camps, the defeat and taking of Syphax, the history of Sophonisba, Hannibal's departure from Italy, his defeat at the battle of Zama in Africa, and peace granted to the Carthaginians, which terminates the second Punic war.

### S E C T. I.

*Syphax marries Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal. Syphax renounces his amity with Scipio and the alliance of the Romans. Scipio conceals the infidelity of Syphax from his troops. Scipio repairs to Lilybæum, and prepares every thing for the departure of the fleet. It sails. The fleet anchors in Africa. Consternation of the country and cities. Scipio ravages the country, after having defeated a detachment of the Carthaginian cavalry. Masinissa joins Scipio. Action between the cavalry. Hanno is defeated, and killed, by Scipio. Scipio ravages Africa. He undertakes the siege of Utica,*

*Utica, and is obliged to suspend it. Convoys sent to Scipio. The Consul Sempronius is defeated by Hannibal, and soon after beats him in his turn with great advantage. The Consul Cornelius keeps Etruria in awe. Extravagant and indecent conduct of the Censors Livius and Nero.*

M. CORNELIUS.

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

P. SEMPRONIUS.

**W**HILST the Romans were engrossed by the affairs I have been relating, the Carthaginians on their side took measures against the designs of their enemy. They had erected sentry-boxes, and beacons upon all the promontories. And after having passed the winter in perpetual apprehension and alarm, informing themselves of every thing, and trembling on every advice they received, they at length concluded an alliance with King Syphax, which was of no small importance for their defence: and deprived Scipio of one of the principal supports, upon which he had relied, in forming his plan for invading Africa. Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was not only united with Syphax by the ties of hospitality they had contracted together, when on his return from Spain he met Scipio, as we have said, in that Prince's palace; but there subsisted a project for a closer alliance between them, and the Carthaginian negotiated the marriage of his daughter Sophonisba with the Numidian Prince. He had formerly promised her to Masinissa: but the interests of his house easily dispensed with that engagement. He hastened to compleat the treaty with Syphax, and seeing him excessively enamoured of Sophonisba, he caused her to come from Carthage, and married her without delay. In the midst of the feasts and rejoicings for the nuptials, Asdrubal desired Syphax

*Syphax marries Sophonisba, Asdrubal's daughter. Liv. xxix. 23.*

A. R. 548.  
 ANL C. 204.

Syphax to add to the private alliance they had lately made with each other, a public one between the Numidians and Carthaginians. The King accepted the proposal, and each engaged by oath, that from thenceforth the two states should have the same friends and enemies.

*Syphax re-  
 verses the  
 enmity of  
 Scipio, and  
 the alli-  
 ance of the  
 Romans.*

For the rest, Asdrubal not having forgot the alliance Syphax had also sworn with Scipio, and knowing how little the promises of that barbarous Prince were to be relied upon, he apprehended that the marriage with his daughter would be too weak a tie to bind him, when Scipio should arrive in Africa. For this reason, taking advantage of the Numidian Prince's first orders, he prevailed upon him by his instances to which the young bride added her caresses, to send Ambassadors to Scipio in Sicily, to declare to him " that the promises  
 " he had made him, when he received him at his  
 " Court, should not be a motive for him to come  
 " to Africa. That he had married the daughter  
 " of Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo, with whom  
 " Scipio had lodged in his palace ; and that in  
 " consequence of this particular union, he had  
 " made a public alliance with the People of Car-  
 " thage. That his first intentions were, that the  
 " Romans should make war against the Carthagi-  
 " nians far from Africa, as they had done hither-  
 " to, in order that he might not be under the ne-  
 " cessity of taking part in their difference, and of  
 " joining one side by declaring against the other.  
 " But that if the Romans should come to attack  
 " Africa, and their army should approach Car-  
 " thage, he should not be able to avoid fighting  
 " for Africa, which had given him birth, and  
 " for the country of his spouse and father-in-  
 " law."

The ambassadors, whom Syphax charged with this commission found Scipio at Syracuse. Though  
 the



the inconstancy of Syphax made that General lose a considerable resource, upon which he had much relied, for the success of his designs against Africa, he was not discouraged; but immediately dismissing the ambassadors of that Prince, before the subject of their voyage was known in the army, he gave them a letter to their master, in which he exhorted him in the strongest terms, “not to violate the laws of hospitality, by which they were bound to each other; to remember the alliance, which he had made with the Roman People; not to betray his faith, honour, and conscience; and lastly to respect and fear the gods, the witnesses and avengers of treaties.” For the rest, as it was not possible to conceal the arrival of the Numidians, who had been seen in different parts of the city; and that it was to be feared, on one side, that the motive of their voyage would be discovered by the very care taken to conceal it, and on the other that the rumour of this rupture, when it should break out, might discourage the troops: Scipio, to avert the bad effect, which this affair might occasion, substituted a false and directly opposite one to it. Accordingly having assembled his soldiers, he told them, “That there was no longer any time to lose. That the King’s allies pressed him to come immediately to their aid. That Masinissa had before had an interview with Lælius, to complain of his delaying so long: that Syphax had now sent ambassadors to ask, what reasons he could have that kept him so long in Sicily. That he desired him either to come as soon as possible to Africa, or, if he had changed his plan, to let him know it; in order that he might take such measures as he should judge necessary to his own security, and that of his kingdom. That therefore, as every thing was ready for their departure, and it was not

“ possible

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

“ possible to delay any longer, his design was to  
“ send his fleet to Lilybæum, to rendezvous all  
“ his troops both horse and foot there, and with  
“ the protection of the gods, to embark for Africa  
“ with the first fair wind.”

This plain and bold falsity, which Scipio uses here in respect to Syphax would have become a Carthaginian, better than a Roman; and is far from the disposition so much admired in Epaminondas, who was as great a captain as Scipio, but more delicate than him in point of truth, for which he had so high a veneration, that he did not believe it allowable to lie even in jest, and by way of diversion. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

Cornel.  
Nep. in  
Epamin.  
c. 3.  
Scipio re-  
pairs to  
Lilybæum,  
and pre-  
pares every  
thing for  
the depar-  
ture of  
the fleet.  
Liv. xxix.  
24

Scipio, in consequence, wrote to M. Pomponius, to desire him to meet at Lilybæum, if he thought proper, in order that they might consider in concert what legions and what number of troops it was proper to carry to Africa. At the same time he sent orders throughout the whole coast, for assembling and bringing to Lilybæum all the transport ships that could be drawn together. All the troops and ships in Sicily having repaired to Lilybæum, the city could not contain so many soldiers, nor the port so many vessels, and the whole multitude had so much ardor for setting sail, that they seemed to be going to Africa, not to make war, but to reap the fruits of a victory already certain. The soldiers, who had survived the battle of Cannæ, were persuaded, that only Scipio could give them occasion of deserving by great and important service the end of their disgrace, and their re-establishment in all their rights. Scipio, on his side, did not despise those troops. He was convinced, that it was not through their cowardice, that the battle of Cannæ had been lost; and he knew that there were not older soldiers in all the  
Roman

Roman armies ; and that besides, they were experienced not only in the different kinds of combat, but in sieges. These troops composed the fifth and sixth legions. He reviewed them ; and formed a chosen corps out of them, separating from them such as did not promise good service, and supplying their places with those he had brought from Italy. He also reinforced those legions in respect to number, and made each consist of six thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. Of the Latin allies, horse and foot, he also gave the preference to those, who had been at the battle of Cannæ. The number of the troops that embarked is not exactly known : historians differ much upon this head. The fleet consisted of fifty large ships, and almost four hundred transports.

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

Scipio took great care, that it should want for nothing, and in order to that was very circumstantial in seeing, whether his orders were duly executed. M. Pomponius, who had the care of the provisions, caused enough for forty five days to be put on board, of which for fifteen were ready dressed. Water was also put on board for horse and man for a like number of days. The transports were disposed in the centre, covered, on the right by twenty large ships, commanded by the General in person, and by L. Scipio his brother, and on the left by as many ships of the same kind, under C. Lælius, commander of the fleet, and M. Portius Cato the Quæstor. Each of the great ships had a lanthorn, the transports two ; and the Admiral three for distinction, and for being the more easily known. He commanded the pilots to anchor on the coast of the district \* *Emporia*,

\* *Emporia was in the little of Capes, upon the coast of the Syrtis, now called the gulph kingdom of Tunis,*

whose



A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

whose inhabitants, little warlike, and even enervated by the pleasures and fertility of the soil, seemed least capable of making resistance. The departure was fixed for the next day.

*Departure  
of the fleet.*  
Liv. xxix.  
26.

Many Roman fleets had been seen to set sail from Sicily and even from the port of Lilybæum ; but, neither during this, nor throughout the whole course of the first war had one been distinguished by so great a concourse of spectators. However, if a fleet were to be judged of by its greatness, there had one been seen, which had transported beyond sea both the Consuls with two consular armies, composed of almost as many ships of war, as Scipio had transports at this time. But the importance of this second war, which was infinitely superior to the other ; the extreme danger in which Italy had been, and still was, after so many bloody defeats ; Scipio's great reputation, founded on the glorious exploits he had already performed, and upon those expected from his courage and good fortune ; the bold design of going to Africa, which had not yet entered the thoughts of any other General ; the report, which he had spread with an air and tone of confidence, that he was going to force Hannibal out of Italy, and to remove the war into Africa, where it would at length be terminated : all this had excited an eager curiosity in the minds of all People, and drawn an extraordinary attention upon the departure of the fleet. The port was covered not only with all the inhabitants of Lilybæum, but also of a great number of deputies from the States of Sicily, whom either the desire of making their court to Scipio, or their affairs with the Prætor Pomponius, had brought into that city. Besides which, the soldiers of the legions who remained in Sicily were come thither, to take leave of their comrades. And if the fleet attracted the eyes of that infinite multitude which filled

filled the ports and the parts of the shore from whence it could be seen ; that multitude itself did not make a much less splendid appearance.

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

As soon as it was day, Scipio appeared upon the deck of the Admiral's ship, and having commanded an herald to make silence : O gods and goddesses of the sea and land, said he, *I implore and conjure you to give success to all the designs I have formed and shall form hereafter, and make them turn to my advantage and glory, as well as to those of the Roman People, the allies of the Latin name, and all who bear arms under the auspices of the Roman People and mine, as well by sea as land : to grant us from day to day, and to continue to us more and more your protection ; to give us victory and triumph over our enemies ; to bring us back to our country laden with their spoils, and full of joy and health : to give us the means of avenging ourselves upon our public and private enemies, and to make all the misfortunes fall upon the Commonwealth of the Carthaginians, with which they have menaced the Roman People.* After this prayer, the victim was slain, and according to custom he threw the raw entrails into the sea, and gave the signal for sailing by the sound of trumpet.

Having set out with a fair wind, they soon lost sight of the shore. But so thick a mist arose towards noon, that the ships could scarce keep clear of each other. When they were farther out at sea, it grew calm ; and the same fog having continued during all the next night, it dispersed at sunrise, and the wind began to grow fair and fresh, so that they soon perceived the land. A moment after the pilot told Scipio, that they were not above five miles from Africa : that he could descry the \* promontory of Mercury ; and that, if

\* The cape Bon in the kingdom of Tunis, near the city called antiently Glypea.

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

it were his order to steer that way, the whole fleet would soon be in the port. Scipio immediately prayed to the gods, that having made the land of Africa, might be for the good fortune of himself and the Commonwealth ; and he ordered the pilot to come to an anchor a little lower.

The same wind continued blowing. But a fog like that the night before, and almost at the same time, arose, which deprived them of the sight of the land, and made the wind fall. Night came on, which made it entirely impossible for them to think of landing. They cast anchor, to keep the ships from running foul of each other, or from driving ashore. As soon as day appeared, the wind began to blow again ; and the fog being cleared up, the coasts of Africa appeared. Scipio asked the name of the next promontory, and on being told that it was called *THE FINE promontory (Pulchri)* I like the Omen, said he, *let us land here.* Immediately all the prows were turned that way, and the troops were landed.

*Arrival of  
the fleet in  
Africa.  
Liv. xxix.  
27.*

*Consternation  
spreads  
in the ci-  
ties and  
country.  
Liv. xxix.  
28.*

After this, the Romans incamped upon the adjacent eminences. The sight already, first of the fleet, and then of soldiers, quitting their ships in throngs, had spread terror and consternation, not only through the adjacent countries, but even into the cities. A confused multitude of men, women, and children, who fled, driving their cattle before them, had thronged all the ways, so that it might be said, that Africa was abandoned by all its inhabitants. But the country people brought much greater terror into the cities, than that they had been before seized with. Particularly at Carthage the dread and consternation were as great, as if the city had been taken by storm. For from the time, that the Consuls Manlius and Regulus, that is above fifty years before, the Carthaginians had not seen a Roman army in their country. All the hostilities were



were confined to some descents, which had not had any consequences. This rendered the terror the greater. And indeed, they had neither an army of sufficient strength, nor a General of sufficient experience, to defend them against the troops and General of the Romans. Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo, had abundance of reputation and merit: but every body remembered, that the same Scipio had defeated him several times in Spain, and had at length driven him out of the province; and they did not believe him more capable of opposing Scipio, than their troops raised in haste to oppose the Veterans of the enemy. For this reason, as if Scipio was coming to attack Carthage, they cried out to arms, shut their gates, posted armed soldiers upon the walls, and placed guard-houses and sentinels every where; and they kept watch during the night.

The next day, five hundred horse, who had been sent towards the sea-coast to observe the motions of the Romans and harrafs them in landing, met some of the enemy's advanced guards. For Scipio had already sent his fleet towards Utica, and, as to himself, having removed a little from the sea, he had seized the neighbouring eminences, and had placed part of his cavalry in some advantageous posts, whilst the rest were detached to plunder the country. A combat of the cavalry ensued, which was not in favour of the Carthaginians. Some of them were killed in the action itself, but much more in the flight; of the number of which was a young Carthaginian officer, named Hanno, who commanded the party. Scipio was not contented with ruining the countries round about: he attacked and took a town of some opulence in the neighbourhood, wherein, besides considerable plunder, with which he immediately loaded his

A. R. 548. ships, and sent them to Sicily, he took eight thou-  
 Ant. C. 204. sand prisoners both freemen and slaves.

*Masiniſſa* In the beginning of ſuch an expedition, as this  
*joins Scipio.* of the Romans againſt Africa, the ſlighteſt aids  
 Liv. xxix. are ſometimes of great importance, and always  
 29, 33. give a ſenſible pleaſure. It was therefore with  
 great joy that Scipio ſaw Maſiniſſa arrive in his  
 camp. That Prince, who was young at this time,  
 had ſuffered great miſfortunes, having been de-  
 prived of his kingdom, obliged to fly from pro-  
 vince to province, and frequently upon the very  
 point of loſing his life. Syphax, animated by Af-  
 drubal, had declared againſt, and made a cruel war  
 upon him. Syphax was King of the Maſeſylians,  
 Maſiniſſa of the Maſſylians. Theſe two States were  
 both denominated Numidians. Maſiniſſa therefore as  
 we have ſaid, came to join Scipio with two thouſand  
 horſe according to ſome, and only with two hundred  
 according to others. The unhappy ſtate of his af-  
 fairs makes the latter opinion moſt probable.

The Carthaginians having made levies, ſet a  
 new body of cavalry on foot in the room of that,  
 which had been defeated with its leader, and gave  
 the command of it to Hanno ſon of Amilcar. They  
 ſent letters after letters, deputies after deputies to  
 Afdrubal and Syphax, to preſs them to act. They  
 ordered the one to come to defend his country al-  
 moſt beſieged by the enemy. They conjured the  
 other to haſten to the aid of Carthage and all  
 Africa. Scipio was then about a thouſand paces  
 from the city of Utica, whither he marched to in-  
 camp, after having continued ſome days on the  
 ſea-ſide oppoſite to his fleet.

*Action be-  
 tween the  
 cavalry.* As Hanno, with the horſe, that had been given  
*Hanno is  
 defeated  
 and killed  
 by Scipio.* him, far from being able to attack the enemy,  
 Liv. xxix. was not in a condition to prevent them from plun-  
 34. dering the country, his firſt care was to make le-  
 vies for augmenting the number of his horſe.  
 With-

Without refusing those of other nations, he listed as many Numidians as he could, who were the best horse soldiers in Africa. He had drawn together about four thousand horse, when he shut himself up in the city of Salera. Scipio after having directed Masinissa how he was to act, gave him orders to make excursions as far as the gates of that city, in order to draw on the enemy to a battle. They did not fail to come out, and charge Masinissa. The battle ensued by degrees, and was long doubtful. At length that Prince, as if he had found himself the weaker, began to give way, not by a precipitate flight, but fighting in retreat, and drew on the enemy as far as the hills, behind which the Roman cavalry were concealed. Scipio's troops, who were fresh as well as their horses, then appeared, and surrounded Hanno and his Africans, who were much fatigued in effect of fighting, and pursuing Masinissa. Masinissa on his side faced about, and renewed the battle. Hanno, with about a thousand horse, having been separated from the rest of his troops by the Romans, and thereby rendered incapable of making off, were killed upon the spot. All the rest, terrified with the death of their General, fled full speed. But the victors pursued them almost ten leagues, and either took or killed about two thousand more, amongst whom were two hundred Carthaginians illustrious by their birth and fortunes.

The same day this battle was fought, the ships which had carried the first plunder to Sicily, of which we have spoke, returned with new provisions.

Scipio made considerable presents to the officers in proportion to their valour: but he treated Masinissa with more distinction than any of them. He put a strong garrison into Salera, and marching

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

*Scipio ruins the country of Africa.*  
Liv. xxix. 35.



A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.

with the rest of his troops, he not only ravaged all the countries, through which he passed, but on his way took a great number of cities and towns, and having spread the terror of his arms on all sides, he returned to his camp seven days after he had left it, bringing with him a vast multitude of men and cattle, with infinite plunder of all kinds, which he caused to be put on board his ships, and sent them back to Sicily laden with rich spoils.

*He undertakes the siege of Utica, and is obliged to suspend it.*

The Victor, abandoning the plunder, and other expeditions of little consequence, turned all his forces against the city of Utica, with design, after having taken it, to make it a place of arms, which would be very advantageous for him in the execution of his designs. He attacked it at once by sea and land, being abundantly provided with all machines necessary for a siege. Carthage took as much pains to save this place, as if itself had been attacked. Asdrubal, by the levies which he made with all possible diligence, set on foot an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. But with such considerable forces, he did not dare to approach the enemy, till Syphax came to join him. That Prince arrived at last with fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Asdrubal then immediately began his march, and incamped with him not far from Utica and the intrenchments of the Romans. All the benefit they reaped from so considerable an armament, was to oblige Scipio to suspend the siege of Utica, after having ineffectually employed during forty days all imaginable efforts to carry it. In consequence, as the winter approached, he incamped upon a promontory, that extended a considerable way into the sea, and joined the *terra firma* by a kind of narrow isthmus, inclosing both the sea and land armies within the same works.

Besides

Besides the corn, which Scipio had taken in the countries he had plundered, and that he had brought from Sicily and Italy, the Proprætor Cn. Octavius brought him a very great quantity, which had been sent him from Sardinia by Ti. Claudius Prætor of that province : so that he not only filled the magazines he had already, but was obliged to have more built. As his soldiers wanted cloaths, he sent the same Octavius to Sardinia to confer with the Prætor of that province upon that head. He punctually acquitted himself of that commission ; and in a very short time brought back twelve hundred robes, (*togas*) and twelve thousand tunicks.

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.  
*Convoys sent to Scipio.*  
Liv. xxix. 36.

The same campaign that these things passed in Africa, the Consul P. Sempronius, who had Brutium for his province, was attacked upon his march by Hannibal. The two enemies fought in parties rather than line of battle. The Consul was repulsed, left twelve hundred of his troops upon the spot, and regained his camp in no little disorder. Hannibal however did not venture to attack him in it. The Consul in consequence quitted it the night following, after having given the Proconsul Publius Licinius notice to join him with his legions. When the two Generals were joined, they marched with both armies in quest of Hannibal to offer him battle, which he did not hesitate to accept. He was encouraged by the victory, which he had already gained, and Sempronius by the augmentation of his forces. The Consul posted his own legions in the front, and those of Licinius in the corps *de reserve*. He defeated the Carthaginians, put them to flight, killed them above four thousand men, and took near three hundred with forty horses and eleven ensigns. Hannibal, discouraged by this defeat, retired towards Croton.

*The Consul Sempronius is defeated by Hannibal, and afterwards beats him in his turn with very great advantage.*

A. R. 548.  
Ant. C. 204.  
*The Consul  
Cornelius  
keeps E-  
truria in  
awe.*

During this time, the Consul M. Cornelius in the other part of Italy, employed rigorous prosecutions, rather than the force of arms, to keep and bring over the Etrurians to their duty, who on Mago's approach, had almost all of them suffered themselves to be carried away by the love of novelty, and the desire of changing their masters.

At Rome the Censors M. Livius and C. Claudius reviewed the Senate. Q. Fabius Maximus was declared Prince of it for the second time. They laid a new duty upon salt, or rather an additional one: I have spoke of it elsewhere. The *Census* was compleated later than usual, because the Censors sent persons into the provinces to know the exact number of the soldiers, of which each army consisted. That of all the citizens, amounted to two hundred and fourteen thousand men. It was C. Claudius that closed the *Lustrum*, that is the religious ceremony of the *Census*.

*Extrava-  
gant and  
inaccent  
conduct of  
the Censors  
Livius and  
Nero.  
Liv. xxix.  
37.  
Val. Max.  
II. 9.*

They then began the review of the Knights, and both the Censors, by an accident that seems singular, were of that order. When they came to the Tribe *Pollia*, of which M. Livius was, as the crier hesitated to cite the Censor himself: *Cite M. Livius*, said Nero; and whether he retained some remains of enmity to him, or improperly affected to shew a rigid severity, he obliged Livius to \* resign his horse, under pretence, that he had been condemned by the People. M. Livius, in his turn, in reviewing the Tribe *Narniensis*, obliged Nero, who was of it, to sell his horse, for two reasons: first, because he had borne false witness against him; and secondly, because he had not been reconciled to him in earnest. Thus were the whole Roman People witnesses of

\* That was to degrade him from the rank of Knight.

a very



a very scandalous quarrel between two Censors, who were each mutually bent to destroy the other's reputation, at the expence of his own. When the question was to quit their office, C. Claudius swore, according to the custom, that they had done nothing that was not conformable to the laws; and going to the public treasury, he placed his colleague in the number of those to whom he gave the degrading name of Tributaries: \* *æraríos*. M. Livius carried his revenge still farther. For when he came to the public treasury after his colleague, except the Tribe *Metia*, which had neither condemned, nor elected him Consul and Censor after his sentence, he degraded with the same ignominy all the rest of the Roman People, that is, thirty-four whole Tribes: "As a punishment, added he, for having first sentenced him unjustly, and then elected him Consul and Censor; for they could not deny, but that they had committed a crime, either once in the sentence they had passed against him, or twice in the assemblies, wherein they had raised him to the great offices, after they had condemned him. He said, that Claudius was included in the thirty-four Tribes; but that if there had been any example of a citizen's being condemned twice in the same penalty, he should not have failed to have noted C. Claudius by name."

Livy's opinion of this conduct of the Censors is remarkable. He approves that of Livius in respect to the People. The (a) People, says he, well deserved to be noted for their inconstancy; and the reproaches he made them perfectly become

\* So those were called, whom the Censors deprived of all the rights of citizens, except the obligation of paying taxes. rum inter Censores: castigatio inconstantiae populi censoria, & gravitate temporum illorum digna. Liv.

(a) Præsum certamen nota-

A. R. 548.  
AEL. C. 204.

the severity of a Censor, and the gravity of the magistrates of those times: but the animosity, which these two Censors shew against each other, was of very bad example, and flowed from a levity of mind, that dishonoured the wise conduct they had observed during their Consulship, and reflected a kind of infamy upon their most glorious actions. Accordingly that conduct rendered them odious, and as soon as they quitted their office, C. Bæbius, one of the Tribunes of the People, believing the occasion favourable for recommending himself at their expence, accused them before the People. But the Senators suppressed this affair, in order that the Censorship might not in the consequence be exposed to the caprice of the multitude.

As the time for the elections approached, M. Cornelius was made to return to Rome, who had no war upon his hands in Hetruria, rather than Sempronius, who had Hannibal to oppose. Cn. Servilius Cæpio, and C. Servilius Geminus, were created Consuls; after which the other magistrates were elected.

## S E C T. II.

*Distribution of the provinces between the Consuls. Praise of Licinius. Scipio continued in command. The Consuls repair to their provinces. Scipio forms a great design, and however amuses Syphax with the hope of an accommodation. Scipio discovers his design, which is to burn the two camps of the enemy, and executes it with success. General consternation of Carthage. The Carthaginians and Syphax raise new troops to continue the war. A battle is fought, in which Scipio is victorious. He takes all the cities dependent on Carthage. Consternation of the inhabitants of that city. Hannibal*

*bal is recalled into Africa. The Carthaginians attack the Roman fleet, and gain a slight advantage. Masinissa is reinstated in the possession of his kingdom. Syphax raises new forces. He is defeated by Lælius and Masinissa, and taken prisoner. Cirta, the capital of Syphax's dominions, surrenders to Masinissa. Sophonisba's discourse to Masinissa. Masinissa espouses Sophonisba. Syphax is carried prisoner to the Roman camp. He endeavours to justify himself to Scipio, by accusing Sophonisba. Scipio reproaches Masinissa with great mildness and reserve. Masinissa sends poison to Sophonisba. She drinks it with great resolution. Scipio consoles Masinissa, and gives him the highest praises. Lælius carries Syphax and the prisoners to Rome. The Carthaginians send to demand peace of Scipio. Conditions of peace proposed by Scipio. Lælius arrives at Rome. Joy occasioned by the news of the victories gained in Africa. Masinissa's Ambassadors well received by the Senate. Mago is defeated. He receives orders to return to Africa. He dies on the way.*

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

C. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

A. R. 549.

Ant. C. 203.

**T**H E S E two Consuls entered upon office the sixteenth year of the second Punic war. They drew lots for the provinces, and Bruttium fell to Cæpio, and Hetruria to Servilius Geminus. The provinces of the other Generals were then settled.

*Distribution of the provinces between the two Consuls. Liv. xxx.*

P. Licinius, who had commanded the year of his Consulship, and the year following, was recalled. Livy here gives us a picture of him, which represents him as an accomplished person. He had all the exterior advantages of nature and fortune ; birth, riches, a fine mien, and a beautiful person.

<sup>1.</sup>  
*Praise of Licinius.*



A. R. 549.  
AEL. C. 103.

person. He had eloquence of every kind ; and was equally capable of pleading at the bar, speaking in the Senate, and haranguing before the People. As he was *Pontifex Maximus*, he had particularly studied the laws of religion, and made himself perfectly master of them. And lastly, to all the other talents, natural and acquired, which he possessed in as eminent a degree as any other Roman, he added the qualities of a soldier, and his Consulship had afforded him occasions of making them appear.

*Scipio continued in command.*

The duration in command was fixed for all others : but it was decreed that Scipio should retain his, till the war in Africa should be terminated, without limiting any time ; and public prayers were appointed, to implore the favour and protection of the gods, for the enterprize Scipio had already happily began by going to Africa. The sea and land forces with which the Romans made war this year, amounted to twenty legions, and an hundred and sixty large ships.

*The Consuls repair to their provinces.*

Liv. xxx.  
3.

When the Consuls had discharged all the duties of religion, they set out, as well as the Prætors, for their respective provinces. But they were all principally intent upon Africa, as if the lots had given it themselves for a province ; whether they thought that the safety and glory of the Commonwealth depended on the successes they should have on that side : or that they were glad of an occasion to please Scipio, upon whom the eyes of the whole city were turned. For which reason they sent cloaths, corn, arms, and every kind of munitions, in emulation of each other, not only from Sardinia, as we have said above, but from Sicily and Spain.

Scipio, on his side, acted as a man of superior genius, taking in every thing at once, and making head on all sides. He had, no doubt, employment

ment enough. For, besides the siege of Utica which he continued, he was obliged to keep up-on his guard against Asdrubal, who was incamped in view; and the Carthaginians had put a well equipped fleet to sea, with a design to cut off his provisions.

In the midst of all these cares, he had not re-nounced all hopes of bringing over Syphax; flattering himself, that perhaps the first heat of his passion for Sophonisba, which had allured him to the Carthaginian side, might be abated; and knowing besides, that the Numidians made no scruple to violate the faith of treaties. He therefore took occasion from the nearness of the two armies to enter into a negotiation with that Prince, and to sound his thoughts, by giving him some room to hope an accommodation between the two States, which agreeably soothed the ambition of Syphax, and induced him to make a truce.

*Scipio forms a great design. In the mean time he amuses Syphax with the hopes of an accommodation. Polyb. xiv. 677--679. Liv. xxx. 3, 4. App. de Bell. Punic. p. 10 --15.*

Some of those he had sent to that Prince, brought back advice, that the Carthaginians lay in their camp under huts made only of wood and boughs, without any mixture of earth; and that those of the Numidians, consisting of rushes and leaves, were partly within and partly without the intrenchment. This account gave birth to a thought in Scipio, which he very much revolved in mind, but at first kept very secret. Hitherto he had always rejected the proposals brought to him on the part of Syphax, which were, that the Carthaginians should quit Italy, and the Romans Africa; continuing, as to the rest, in the same state as they were before the war. Scipio began then to seem less difficult; and not to think what was proposed to him impossible.

Syphax,

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

Syphax, charmed with this news, kept himself less upon his guard in respect to comers and goers. Scipio did not omit to take advantage of this facility. He sent oftener, and more in number to the camp of that Prince; and both sides even remained several days in each other's camps, without distrust or precaution. Scipio sent with his deputies some intelligent persons, and officers disguised as slaves, to observe the avenues and issues from the two camps, and to inform themselves how they kept guard day and night. There were two camps, as I have said: that of Asdrubal, in which there were about thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and that of the Numidians, in which there were ten thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot. They were but ten stadia distant from each other (half a league.) Hence we see what interest Scipio had to avoid a battle with enemies so much superior to him in number.

The manner in which the affair was treated, gave Syphax and the Carthaginians, in concert with whom he acted, more hope every day, that a peace would at length be concluded. When Scipio had taken all the measures necessary to the success of his design, his deputies declared to Syphax, that Scipio had directed them not to return without bringing back a positive answer, finding the affair was protracted too long. This kind of earnestness made that Prince believe, that the Romans ardently desired peace; and induced him to add some new conditions to the plan of accommodation harder than the first. These new terms supplied Scipio with a plausible pretext for breaking the truce. He accordingly told the courier, who brought them from the King, that he should consider of them in a council of war, and the next day returned for answer, "That whatever  
" desire he might have to conclude a treaty, the  
" con-



“ conditions proposed by the King seemed insup-  
 “ portable to him. That he should therefore de-  
 “ clare to his master, that the sole means he had  
 “ for living in peace with the Romans, was to  
 “ renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians.”

A. R. 549.  
 Ant. C. 203.

He immediately broke the truce, in order to execute his project, without giving room to accuse him of breach of faith.

During the conferences, Scipio having made his fleet put to sea, had shipped his machines on board of it. He had at the same time sent two thousand men to seize one of the eminences, that commanded the city, of which he had been master before. These motions had two reasons: the first, to divert the attention of the enemy from his real design; the second, to prevent the inhabitants of Utica, whilst he was acting against Syphax and Asdrubal, from making any sally upon his camp, where he left few troops. He succeeded in amusing, not only the enemy, but even his own troops, who hitherto, from the preparations he made, had believed that his sole design was to surprize Utica.

After having taken such wise measures, Scipio called a council of war, and having ordered those, he had employed to view the enemy's camp, to give an account of what they had remarked in it; and desired Masinissa, who was particularly acquainted with it, to speak his thoughts; he at length openly declared the enterprize he intended to execute the same night, which was to burn both the enemy's camps. He ordered the Tribunes to make the legions quit the camp on the first signal that should be given them after the council broke up. The troops took refreshment, and set out, according to the orders they had received, immediately after sun-set. Some time after they drew up in battle, and marching slow, arrived

*Scipio discovers his design, which was to burn the two camps of the enemy, and executes it with success.*

Polyb. xiv. 679—682.  
 Liv. xxx. 5—7.  
 App. de bell. Pun. 10—12.

about

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

about midnight at the enemy's camp, which was about two leagues from their own. Scipio there, giving part of his troops to Lælius, ordered him to go with Masinissa and his Numidians to attack the camp of Syphax and set it on fire. And at the same time, taking Lælius and Masinissa aside, he conjured them to prevent, with all possible vigilance and attention, the confusion which the night might occasion on the execution of such an enterprize. That as for himself, he should attack Asdrubal and the Carthaginians in person; but that he should not begin till he saw the camp of Syphax on fire.

He did not wait long. For as soon as the flames had taken hold of the first huts, they communicated themselves to the next so suddenly, that in a very short time every part of the camp was in a blaze. It is easy to judge the consternation, that a fire in the night occasioned amongst the enemy, which spread so fast and so universally. But the Barbarians, who imputed it to chance, without thinking at all of the Romans, having ran without arms, and almost naked to extinguish it, fell into the hands of well-armed enemies, especially of the Numidians, whom Masinissa, in effect of his knowledge of the places, had disposed every where, through which they could escape. The fire suffocated many half asleep in their beds: many in the press were crushed to death at the gates, that were too narrow to let all through who flew thither to get off.

The light of so great a fire first alarmed the sentinels of the Carthaginians. Others afterwards, whom the noise and tumult had awakened, having also perceived it, fell into the same error as the King's troops. They believed, that the fire was only a mere accident. The cries raised by the soldiers wounded and slaughtered by the Romans, which

which might be attributed to the terror occasioned by such a fire in the night, prevented them from guessing the real cause. Consequently every one running eagerly to help the Numidians, without carrying any thing with them but what might serve to extinguish the fire, because they did not apprehend, that they had any thing to fear from the enemy, they fell into their hands without arms and defenceless. All were put to the sword, not only in effect of the hatred natural to enemies, but because it was thought proper, that not one might escape to carry the news of what passed to the rest. Scipio afterwards went to attack the gates of Asdrubal's camp, which were quite abandoned, as is natural on such a tumult. He immediately caused the first tents to be set on fire. The flames first appeared in many different places, but uniting soon after set the whole camp in a blaze, and in a moment consumed every thing combustible. The men and beasts half burned made to the gates, to save themselves: but they were soon blocked up by the multitude, who falling over one another, lay in heaps in the way. Those whom the flames spared, perished by the sword. The two camps of Syphax and Asdrubal were destroyed almost in the space of one hour. However, the chiefs escaped, with about two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, most of them without arms, wounded or hurt by the flames, a deplorable remainder of two such numerous armies. The sword or the fire destroyed about forty thousand men, and eight elephants. Above five thousand men were made prisoners, amongst whom were a great number of Carthaginians of principal distinction, and eleven Senators; an hundred and seventy four ensigns were also taken, with above two thousand seven hundred Numidian horses, six elephants, and a prodigious quantity of

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.



A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

of arms, which the General burnt as a sacrifice to Vulcan, who had just done him so great a service.

Asdrubal, very ill attended, had escaped to the nearest city ; and all who had escaped death took refuge there, by following him upon the heel. But he soon after quitted it, apprehending that the inhabitants would deliver him up to Scipio. He was not mistaken. The Romans no sooner appeared before their gates, than they were opened to them. As they surrendered voluntarily, no hurt was done them. Scipio took two other cities afterwards, of which he gave the plunder to the soldiers, with all that could be saved from the fire in the two camps. Syphax incamped eight miles from thence in a well fortified post : and Asdrubal repaired to Carthage, to encourage the citizens, and prevent them from taking some weak and timorous resolution.

Of all the surprizing events that we have hitherto seen, says Polybius, none come up to this, and we know nothing that can give us an image of it. And indeed, adds he, it is the most subtle and bold of all Scipio's exploits, though his life was but one continued series of great and glorious actions. In effect, nothing that was proper to make important designs succeed, was wanting in this : wonderful sagacity and attention to improve the slightest openings chance offered, a lively and active foresight, that without perplexity and eagerness, prepares all necessary measures, a scrupulous exactness that descends to the most minute particulars ; but above all, impenetrable secrecy, which is the soul of great enterprizes.

*General  
Consternation in*

*Carthage.*

Polyb. xiv.  
682.

Liv. xxx.

7.

The first news of the ruin of the two armies struck such a terror and consternation into the minds of the Carthaginians, that they did not doubt but Scipio would abandon the siege of Utica to attack

attack Carthage. It was for this reason the Suffetes, who were at Carthage, what the Consuls were at Rome, assembled the Senate, that were divided by three different opinions. Some were for sending ambassadors to Scipio, to treat with him of peace: others, that Hannibal should be recalled to defend his country against an enemy, that threatened its immediate ruin: and lastly, some, imitating the constancy of the Romans in adversity, maintained that it was necessary to set new troops on foot, and to implore Syphax not to abandon his allies, nor to be discouraged by a first defeat. This opinion, supported by Asdrubal's presence, and the credit of the Barcinian party, who were averse to peace, carried it against the other two.

They accordingly began to levy troops in the city and country: and ambassadors were sent to Syphax, who, on his side, was making preparations to renew the war with all his forces. For his spouse was not contented with employing, as before, caresses, sufficiently powerful of themselves with an husband so passionately fond as Syphax: but she added to them the most tender and urgent prayers, conjuring him, all bathed in tears, not to abandon her father and her country, and not to suffer Carthage to be destroyed by the same flames, that had consumed the two camps. The ambassadors added, to encourage him, that they had met on their way, four thousand Celtiberians, all young and brave, whom the Carthaginian officers had lifted in Spain: and that Asdrubal would soon join him with considerable troops. Syphax, after having given the ambassadors a very obliging and favourable answer, shewed them a great multitude of Numidians, whom he had raised in the country, and to whom he had lately given horses and arms; and assured them, “ that his design was to arm

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

*The Carthaginians and Syphax raise new troops, to continue the war.*  
Polyb. & Liv. *ibid.*

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

“ all the youth of his country. That he well  
“ knew, it was by surprize, and not in battle,  
“ they had sustained the last loss ; and that it was  
“ necessary to be overcome in the field, to confess  
“ themselves inferior to an enemy in war.” He  
dismissed the ambassadors of Carthage with this  
answer ; and some few days after Asdrubal and  
Syphax again joined their forces, which amounted  
to thirty thousand fighting men.

*A battle is  
fought, in  
which  
Scipio is  
victorious.*  
Polyb. xiv.  
683—685  
Liv. xxx.  
8.

Scipio considering Syphax and the Carthaginians  
as flying enemies, thought almost only of pushing  
the siege of Utica, and he had made his machines  
approach the walls of that city, when he received  
advice, that the enemy had taken the field again  
with new armies. He was therefore obliged to  
suspend his attacks ; and to preserve the appear-  
ances at least of a siege, leaving the most incon-  
siderable part of the army in his lines, and on  
board his ships, he set out with the flower and  
greatest part of his troops, in quest of the enemy.  
He at first posted himself upon an eminence about  
four miles from the camp of Syphax. The next  
day he came down with his cavalry into a large  
plain below that hill, and passed the whole day in  
harrassing the enemy, and defying them by skir-  
mishing quite up to the gates of their camp. Du-  
ring the two following days, the armies made ex-  
cursions reciprocally upon each other, in which  
nothing memorable passed.

The fourth day, the two parties actually drew  
up in battle. Scipio, according to the custom of  
the Romans, posted the *Principes* in the second  
line, behind the *Hastati*, who formed the front,  
and the *Triarii* in the rear. He placed the Italian  
cavalry on the right wing, and Masinissa with his  
Numidians on the left, Syphax and Asdrubal  
posted their Numidians opposite to the Italian  
horse, and the Carthaginians against Masinissa.  
The



The Celtiberians were in the main body, and were to act against the Roman legions, that were drawn up facing them. In this order they came to blows. On the first charge both wings gave way on the side of the Carthaginians. Syphax's Numidians, most of whom were only peasants, could not sustain the charge of the Roman cavalry; nor the Carthaginians, who were also but new raised forces, Masinissa's, with whose valour and experience united the boldness which a quite recent victory is apt to inspire. The Celtiberians though abandon'd and uncovered by the flight of the two wings, continued however in their post; because not knowing the country, they could not hope to find safety in flight; and the treachery, which had induced them to take arms against the Romans, the benefactors of their nation, though during the war in Spain no hostilities had been committed against them, left them no hopes of quarter. In the mean time, the wings being broke, they were soon surrounded by the Principes and Triarii. An horrible slaughter of them ensued; which very few of them escaped. The Celtiberians were however of great service to the Carthaginians. For they not only fought with courage, but much favoured their retreat. If the Romans had not been stopt by them, and had at first pursued those that fled, hardly one of them had survived. Their long resistance gave Syphax time to retire home with his horse, and Asdrubal to regain Carthage, with those who had escaped from the battle.

The next day, Scipio sent out Lælius and Masinissa with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry and a detachment of infantry in pursuit of the flying enemy. As for himself with the gross of the army, he reduced all the neighbouring cities in the dependance of Carthage under the Roman power; employing terror and force against those, who refused

*Scipio sub-  
jects all  
the cities  
in the de-  
pendance  
of Car-  
thage.*

*Polyb. xiv.  
685.*

*Liv. xxx.*

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

refused to surrender voluntarily. The whole country, tired with the length of the war, and the taxes which they were compelled to pay for carrying it on, had been long ripe for an universal revolt.

*Consternation of Carthage.*

At Carthage, though the burning of the two camps had greatly affected the People, their confusion became much greater by the loss of the battle. This second blow put them into a terrible consternation, and made them lose all hope, not doubting that now Scipio, after having subjected the country round about, would turn his arms against the capitol itself. However there were some wise and generous Senators who in so afflicting a conjuncture, took pains to animate the courage of their fellow-citizens, and to make them take vigorous resolutions. They were of opinion, that it was necessary to attack the Romans, who were before Utica by sea ; that endeavours should be used to make them raise the siege, and battle given them, whilst they expected nothing less, and had nothing in readiness for such an attack. Others added, that it was necessary to send deputies to Hannibal in Italy without loss of time, to recal him into Africa : because the success that might be obtained against the enemy's fleet, might indeed relieve the city of Utica, but would not rid Carthage of its fears, which could be defended only by Hannibal and his army. And lastly, others represented, that the most important point, was to strengthen Carthage, to place it safe from insult, and to keep themselves in readiness to sustain a siege. These three opinions were joined together, and immediately put in execution. The next day the fleet put to sea, the deputies set out for Italy, and incredible ardour was used in repairing and augmenting the fortifications.

*Hannibal is recalled into Africa.*

Scipio

Scipio having found no resistance wherever he had marched with his victorious army, had taken considerable spoils. He thought it proper that they should be carried into his first camp before Utica, to march his troops to attack Tunis, and to incamp in sight of the Carthaginians, with the view that his approach would spread terror amongst them. The latter having in a few days shipped the necessary equipage and provisions, were preparing to sail, when Scipio arrived at Tunis. Those who guarded that place retired through fear of being attacked and forced. Tunis was about \* five or six leagues from Carthage.

The Romans were already at work upon their intrenchments, when they discovered the fleet of the enemy rowing from Carthage to Utica. For this reason Scipio ordered them immediately to quit their work, and march away, apprehending, that the ships which he had left at the siege of Utica might be surprized, and put into disorder by those of the Carthaginians, which they were not in a condition to oppose, because the latter were light, and equipped with every thing necessary for working them well in a battle; whereas those of the Romans, laden with all the things used in a siege, were by no means fit to fight. He did not upon this occasion follow the usual custom of drawing up in this kind of battles. Having placed in the rear and near the shore the ships of war, which are usually destined to defend the others, he opposed the enemy on the side next the sea, in the form of walls, with all his transports, of which he had formed four rows. And to prevent their being displaced in the tumult of the battle, he fastened them all together, by laying the masts and yards across from one ship into another, and bind-

\* *An hundred and twenty stadia according to Polybius, fifteen miles according to Livy.*



A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

ing the whole with large cables ; this formed a body of which the parts were inseparable. He afterwards covered them with planks, in order that the soldiers might pass from one to another ; and under this kind of bridges formed by the planks, he left intervals, through which the boats were to pass between the barks in order to view the enemy, and retire with safety. All this having been executed with expedition, he put about a thousand chosen troops on board of the transports, and caused all kinds of darts to be carried into them, and especially of those that are discharged at a great distance in sufficiently large quantities, that they might not be wanting, how long soever the battle might be. With these preparations and in this order, they waited the enemy's arrival, with intent to give them a warm reception.

If the Carthaginians had not lost time, they would have surprized the Romans in disorder and confusion, and have defeated them at the first attack. But being still terrified with the losses they had sustained by land, and not confiding too much at sea, though they were much the stronger, they employed an whole day in tacking very slowly, and did not anchor till sun-set in the port called Ruscinon by the Africans. The next day at sunrise, they drew up their ships out at sea, as if they intended to give battle in the forms, and supposing, that the Romans would come out to attack them. They continued in this situation a considerable time : but seeing, that the Romans did not move, they at length came on, and charged the transports. This action had not the aspect of a sea-fight, but rather resembled ships attacking a wall. As the transports of the Romans, were much higher than the enemy's galleys, the darts of the Carthaginians thrown upwards were most of them ineffectual ; whereas those of the  
Romans,

Romans, discharged from above, had all their effect. The Carthaginians, after having long sustained this shower of darts, which incommoded them exceedingly, at length began to throw grappling irons (*harpagons*) from their ships into the transports; and as the Romans could not cut them, nor the chains to which they hung, the beaked galley, which had grappled a transport, dragged it away in retiring, and with it the whole line of which it was a part, till the cordage, which made it fast was broke by the violence, with which it was pulled. This rude shock divided the planks of which the bridges were made, so that the Roman soldiers had scarce time to get to the second row of barks. Six of these transport ships were towed to Carthage, and (a) occasioned much greater rejoicing there than so small a success deserved in itself. But, after so many bloody defeats received upon the necks of each other, after so many tears shed concerning the public misfortunes, the slightest advantage was the occasion of infinite joy, especially because it happened contrary to all hope. Besides which, it was a consolation for them, and an idea that soothed them, to think that the Roman fleet would have been entirely destroyed, if their commanders had been more expeditious, and Scipio had not come in time to aid it.

During this time, Lælius and Masinissa arrived in Numidia after a march of fifteen days. The Masæsylians, Masinissa's subjects, surrendered themselves immediately with great joy and ardour to their King, whose return and re-establishment they had long desired. Though Syphax, whose

A. R. 549.  
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*Masinissa*  
*repossesses*  
*himself of*  
*his king-*  
*dom.*

Liv. xxx.

11.  
Appian.

13, 14.

(a) Major, quàm pro re, mas unum quantumcumque lætitia, sed eo gratior, quòd ex insperato gaudium affulset inter assiduas clades ac lacry- rat, Liv.

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.  
*Syphax*  
*less new*  
*troops ex-*  
*posed.*

lieutenants and garrisons had been driven out of the country entirely, kept within the bounds of his own kingdom, it was not his design to stay long there. His wife, whom he loved to excess, and Asdrubal his father-in-law, incessantly importuned him to continue the war: and the forces of so powerful a state as his, that abounded with men and horses, might have inspired a Prince less haughty and presuming than him with courage. Having therefore drawn together all the people he had capable of service, he gave them horses and arms, and divided his cavalry into squadrons, and his infantry into cohorts, as he had formerly been taught by the Roman centuries sent to him from See Vol. V. Spain by the Scipios. At the head of as numerous an army as he had had some time before, but for the rest, consisting of new raised soldiers, without any knowledge of military discipline, he believed himself in a condition to march in quest of the Romans.

*He is de-*  
*feated and*  
*taken pri-*  
*soner by*  
*Lælius and*  
*Magnus.*

As soon as Syphax was incamped in sight of the enemy, frequent skirmishes happened, which soon drew on a battle of the cavalry in form. As long as it acted alone, the Romans found it difficult to make good their ground against the Masæsylians, whom Syphax detached in great bodies. But, as soon as the foot, by passing through the intervals between the squadrons, had encouraged the horse, the Barbarians were amazed to see an enemy upon their hands, whom they did not expect: presently after they stopped, being little used to such a kind of combat; and they at length entirely gave way, the Roman cavalry by the assistance of the foot having a superiority, which it had not alone. The legions were already very near. The Masæsylians, far from being in a condition to resist them, could not support the sight of them, so much were they discouraged, as well by the re-  
membrance



membrance of their past defeats, as by the fear that seized them at this instant. Here, whilst Syphax threw himself into the midst of the Roman squadrons, to try whether the shame of abandoning him alone to the arms of the enemy, would prevent the flight of his troops, he fell from his horse, which had received a great wound, and having been taken prisoner, was carried to Lælius : a very grateful sight to Masinissa, who had before been dethroned by that Prince. The greatest part of the defeated Numidians took refuge at Cirta, the capital of Syphax's kingdom. The slaughter was not so great in this battle, in which the cavalry only had fought. Above five thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and above two thousand taken prisoners in the attack of the camp, into which the Numidians had thrown themselves in crouds after having lost their King.

Masinissa well knew how to improve his victory. He represented to Lælius, “ that if he regarded only what would be most grateful to himself, nothing could be more so than to go to his own kingdom, in order to his re-establishment. But he added, that not a moment was to be lost in prosperity more than adversity. That if Lælius would permit him to advance with the cavalry, he would march directly to Cirta, and that he should infallibly make himself master of it by shewing the terrified inhabitants their King a prisoner. That Lælius might follow him by short marches with the infantry.”

This plan was followed. Masinissa repaired to Cirta, and immediately demanded an interview with the principal persons of that city. As they were ignorant of the misfortune of Syphax, neither the account of what had passed in the battle, his promises,

A. R. 549.  
at, C. 203.

*Cirta, the Capital of Syphax's dominions surrenders to Masinissa.*  
Liv. xxx. 12.  
App. 14, 15.

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

promises, nor his menaces could gain any thing from them, till he had shewn them their King a prisoner and in chains. At so sad a sight, nothing was heard but cries of grief and groans, which soon spread throughout the whole city. Some out of fear abandoned the walls: others to conciliate the victor's favour, opened the gates of the city and surrendered to him. Masinissa, having posted guards at the gates and around the walls to prevent any person from flying, hastened to the King's palace, in order to make himself master of it.

*Sophonis-  
ba's dis-  
course to  
Masinissa.*

Sophonisba, Syphax's wife, and Asdrubal's daughter, came out to receive him in the porch; and having discovered him in the midst of the croud, that attended him by the splendor of his arms and robes, she threw herself at his feet; and after he had raised her, she spoke to him as follows. *The gods, your own valour and fortune, having rendered you master of my fate. But if a captive may be allowed to address a fearful prayer to him, who is the arbiter of her life and death, if you vouchsafe to suffer me to embrace your knees, and this victorious hand; I conjure you by the majesty of Kings, in which sacred character we not long since shared with you, by the name of Numidian, which you bear in common with Syphax, by the gods of this palace, whom I implore to regard your arrival with a more favourable eye, than they saw his unhappy departure. I conjure you, I say, to afford me this sole grace, that you yourself will determine the fate of your prisoner, and that you will not suffer her to fall under the haughty and cruel power of any Roman.—Though I were only the wife of Syphax, that would suffice to make me prefer the faith of a Numidian Prince, born in Africa as well as myself, to that of a stranger. But you are sensible what a Carthaginian, what the daughter of Asdrubal has to fear from the Romans. If*  
you

*you can only exempt me from their power by death, I beg it of you, as the greatest favour you can grant me.* A. R. 549.  
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Sophonisba was in the flower of her youth, and of exquisite beauty. Her intreaties, which were more like caresses, easily revived a flame ill extinguished in the heart of Masinissa. He could not see her embracing his knees and kissing his hands, without being infinitely softened; and that victorious Prince, conquered in his turn by the charms of his prisoner, without hesitating, promised what she desired, and engaged not to deliver her up to the Romans. He began by promising: but reflexion ensued. The more he examined the promise he had just made, the more difficulty he found in keeping it. In this perplexity, he blindly followed the imprudent and rash counsel, which his passion suggested. He resolved to marry her that very day, in order that neither Lælius who would soon arrive, nor Scipio himself, might pretend to have a right to treat a Princess as their prisoner, who was become the wife of Masinissa. Masinissa  
espouses So-  
phonisba.

As soon as the ceremony was over, and the marriage consummated, Lælius arrived; and far from approving what had passed, he was upon the point of seizing Sophonisba even in the nuptial bed, to send her with Syphax and the other prisoners to Scipio. But he suffered himself to be prevailed on by the intreaties of Masinissa, and consented to refer the affair to the General's judgment. He accordingly contented himself with sending Syphax and the other prisoners to the camp, and set out with Masinissa to compleat the conquest of Numidia.

As soon as it was known in the Roman camp, that Syphax was upon the point of arriving there, all the soldiers quitted it with the same eagerness as they would to see the pomp of a triumph. That Syphax is  
carried to  
the Roman  
camp.  
Liv. xxx. unfortunate <sup>13</sup>.



A. R. 549.  
A. R. C. 203.

unfortunate Prince, walked foremost in chains, followed by a troop of Numidians of principal distinction. The Romans, to exalt their victory, exaggerating the greatness and power of Syphax in emulation of each other, said, “ That this was the  
“ King, for whom the Romans and Carthagi-  
“ nians, the two most powerful people of the  
“ earth, had had so much consideration and de-  
“ ference, that Scipio their General had made no  
“ difficulty to abandon his province and army ;  
“ and to go to Africa with two galleys to demand  
“ his amity in person ; and that Asdrubal the  
“ Carthaginian General, had not only gone in per-  
“ son to his palace, but had given him his daugh-  
“ ter in marriage. That what still shewed his  
“ power and strength more, was that after he had  
“ driven Masinissa out of his kingdom, he had  
“ reduced him to the sad necessity of hiding  
“ himself in the forests, and of owing the prefer-  
“ vation of his life to spreading a report of his  
“ death.”

*He endeavours to vindicate himself to Scipio by accusing Sophonisba.*

Syphax arrived in the camp, and was carried to Scipio's tent. The remembrance of that Prince's former greatness, compared with the sad condition in which he saw him ; the sacred rights of hospitality ; the private amity, and public alliance, which they had contracted together, touched that General extremely, and made him order his chains to be taken off. The same motives gave Syphax confidence and courage, when he was to answer the victor. For when Scipio asked him, what he thought, when he not only renounced the alliance of the Romans, but had even declared war against them ; he at first imputed the cause of his rupture with the Romans solely to Sophonisba, affirming  
“ (a) that the first source of his misfortune was

(a) Tum se insanisse—— nam domum acceperit. Illis  
cùm Carthaginiensem matro- nuptialibus facibus regiam con-  
“ his

“ his having received a Carthaginian woman into  
 “ his house and bed. That the same torches A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.  
 “ which had lighted those fatal nuptials, had set  
 “ his palace on fire. That it was that plague,  
 “ that fury, whose infectious charms had depri-  
 “ ved him of the use of his reason; and that she  
 “ had never ceased tormenting him; till herself  
 “ had put those guilty arms into his hands against  
 “ his friend and his guest. He added, that in  
 “ the midst of so many misfortunes, he had how-  
 “ ever one consolation, which was to see the same  
 “ fury, who had caused his ruin, transferred into  
 “ the house of his most cruel enemy. That Ma-  
 “ sinissa was neither wiser, nor more constant,  
 “ than himself; that his youth made him still  
 “ more rash: and that he had at least shewn more  
 “ folly and passion in his precipitate marriage,  
 “ than could be imputed to Syphax.”

This discourse, dictated still more by jealousy  
 than hatred, gave Scipio great uneasiness. The  
 precipitation with which Masinissa had hurried on  
 his marriage, without waiting for and consulting  
 Lælius, by instantly changing the condition of  
 Sophonisba from that of a prisoner to that of a  
 wife, justified Syphax's reproaches. So extrava-  
 gant a conduct was the more offensive to Scipio,  
 as himself had always been insensible to the beauty  
 of the prisoners he had taken in Spain, though he  
 was then in the flower of his youth. His per-  
 plexity was how to bring Masinissa over to reason,  
 for he was not for alienating him.

He was engrossed by these thoughts, when Læ-  
 lius and Masinissa arrived. He made them both  
 an equally gracious reception: and in the presence

flagrasse suam: illam furiam pe- stemque omnibus delinimentis animum suum avertisse atque alienasse; nec conquiesse, do-	nec ipsa manibus suis nefaria sibi arma adversus hospitem atque amicum induerit.
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of the principal officers of the army gave them all the praises due to their exploits. Then taking Masinissa aside, he spoke to him in these terms :  
 (a) *I believe, Prince, that it was some good qualities, which you thought you saw in me, that induced you first to make an alliance with me in Spain, and since my arrival in Africa to confide your person and all your hopes in me. Now of all the virtues which recommended me to your good opinion, that which I think does me most honour, is the force of mind to resist the passions too common at our age. I wish, Masinissa, that to all the great qualities which render you so estimable, you would add that of which I am speaking. No, Prince; believe me, our most formidable enemies are assuredly not those who attack us with their swords; no, they are pleasures, which lay snares for us on all sides. He, who by his virtue has known how to check and subdue them, may boast of having gained a far more glorious victory, than that which hath made us masters of the dominions and person of Syphax. I took great pleasure in publicly owning the great actions you have done in my absence, and I retain the remembrance of them with joy. As to the rest, I chuse rather to leave it to your own reflection, than to make you blush by repeating it. It*

(a) *Alqua te existimo, Masinissa, intuentem in me bona, & principio in Hispania ad jungendam mecum amicitiam venisse, & postea in Africa te ipsum, spesque omnes tuas, in fidem meam commisisse. Atqui nulla earum virtus est, propter quas appetendus tibi visus sum, qua ego æquè atque temperantia & continentia libidinum gloriatus fuerim. Hanc te quoque ad ceteras tuas eximias virtutes adjecisse velim. Non est, non (mih*

*crede) tantum ab hostibus armatis ætati nostræ periculum, quantum ab circumfusus undique voluptatibus. Qui eas suâ temperantiâ frenavit ac domuit, multo majus decus majoremque victoriam sibi peperit, quàm nos Syphace victo habemus. Quæ me absente strenuè ac fortiter fecisti, libenter & commemoravi, & memini. Cætera te ipsum reputare tecum, quàm, me dicente, erubescere malo.*



was by the forces, and under the command of the A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203. Generals of the Roman People, that Syphax was defeated and taken prisoner. From thence it follows, that himself, his wife, his kingdom, his subjects, his cities, his lands, in a word, everything dependent on him, belong to the Roman People. And though Sophonisba were not a Carthaginian, and her father did not command the armies of Carthage, she however must be sent to Rome to undergo the sentence of the Roman Senate and People for the crime with which she is charged, that is, of having made a King in alliance with the Commonwealth take up arms against us. Try then, Masinissa, to conquer yourself. Take care not to dishonour so many virtues by a single vice, and not to lose the whole merit of the services you have rendered us, by a fault much greater than the interest which hath made you commit it.

This discourse must have given Masinissa strange *Masinissa* perplexity: How to keep the promise he had *sends So-* made Sophonisba? How to refuse Scipio, on *phonista* whom he depended? How to conquer himself? *poison.* Liv. xxx. for undoubtedly his passion, though confounded 15. by the wise advice of Scipio, could not be suppressed in an instant. With blushes in his face, and tears in his eyes, he promised to obey, imploring him however to have some regard for the promise he had rashly made to Sophonisba, not to deliver her up to any one whatsoever. But when he was alone in his tent, a terrible conflict arose in his heart, between his passion and his duty. He was heard a long while groaning excessively, which argued the violent agitation of his mind. At length, after a vast sigh, he formed a very strange resolution, but one, by which he believed that he acquitted himself at the same time both of what he owed to Sophonisba, and to his own glory. He called a faithful officer, who, according to the custom of the Kings of those times, kept the  
poison,

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poison, which was their last resource in unforeseen extremities. He ordered him to prepare and carry it to Sophonisba, and to tell her in his name, “ That Masinissa could have desired nothing so much, as to have been able to observe the principal engagement he had made with her in espousing her : But that those, on whom he depended, having deprived him of that liberty, he at least kept the other promise he had made her, not to suffer her to fall into the hands of the Romans. That she should therefore resolve with all the courage of a Carthaginian, of Asdrubal’s daughter, and the wife of two Kings.”

*She drinks  
the poison  
with great  
resolution.*

The officer went to Sophonisba, and after having presented her the poison, *I accept, said she, this nuptial present, and even with gratitude, if it be true, that Masinissa could do no more for his wife. Tell him, however, that I should renounce life with more joy and glory, if I had not married him the day before my death.* She then drank the poison with as much constancy, as there seemed loftiness in her answer.

*Scipio con-  
soles Masi-  
nissa, and  
gives him  
great prai-  
ses and  
presents.*

Scipio having been informed of the whole, was struck with new apprehensions. He justly believed, that every thing was to be apprehended from the transports of a young Prince, whom passion had just carried to such extremities. He immediately sent for him, and sometimes consoled him in kind and tender expressions, and sometimes made him some reproaches upon the new fault he had just committed ; but they were attended with an air of humanity and friendship, that softened their bitterness.

The next day, to divert that Prince’s melancholy, he assembled the army, and in the presence of all the troops, after having called and acknowledged him a King in the name of the Roman People,

People, after having given him the highest and most soothing praises, he presented him with a crown of gold, a gold cup, a curule chair, an ivory scepter, an embroidered purple robe, and a tunick also embroidered with palms; adding, that these were the most superb ornaments worn in triumphs, and that Masinissa was the only person of all foreigners, that the Roman People deemed worthy of the like marks of honour. He also highly praised Lælius, and gave him a crown of gold. He afterwards rewarded all the other officers, in proportion to the services each had done. The conferring of these honours upon Masinissa very much mitigated his affliction, and gave him hopes, that after the death of Syphax he might become master of all Numidia.

Scipio having appointed Lælius to carry Syphax and the other prisoners to Rome, and made Masinissa's Ambassadors set out along with him, marched a second time to incamp near Tunis, and compleated the fortifications which he had began there.

*Lælius carries Syphax and the prisoners to Rome.*  
Liv. xxx.  
16.

The joy of the Carthaginians for the inconsiderable advantage they had gained over the Roman fleets was of short duration, and soon changed into a general consternation, when they received advice of the defeat and taking of Syphax, upon whom they had relied more than upon Asdrubal and his army. No body daring to speak any longer for continuing the war, for he would not have been heard, they sent to demand peace of Scipio by thirty deputies, who were the principal persons of the Senate, and formed an united council, whose opinions had a very great influence upon the decisions of the whole Senate. As soon as they arrived in the camp of the Romans, and from thence at Scipio's tent, they prostrated themselves at the feet of that General, probably according to

*The Carthaginians send to demand peace of Scipio.*



A. R. 149.  
A. E. C. 203.

the custom of the Eastern nations, from which the Carthaginians derived their origin. Their discourse was as humble as their first behaviour. Without endeavouring to justify their conduct, they laid the whole blame of what had passed upon Hannibal, and the violent cabal of those who favoured his ambition. They demanded grace for their Republick, which had \* twice deserved to perish by the temerity of its citizens, and would a second time be indebted for its preservation to the clemency of its enemies; adding, that they knew “ that the Roman People did not  
“ seek the destruction of their adversaries, but on-  
“ ly the glory of conquering and subjecting them.  
“ That as for them, they were ready as humble  
“ slaves to accept such conditions as it should  
“ please Scipio to impose upon them.”

*Conditions  
of peace  
proposed by  
Scipio.*  
Liv. xxx.  
16.  
App. 17.

That General answered them, “ That he came  
“ to Africa with the hope of terminating the war  
“ by a compleat victory, and not by a peace;  
“ which hope had increased with the successes the  
“ gods had hitherto granted his arms. That not-  
“ withstanding, though victory was in a manner  
“ in his hands, he did not refuse them peace, that  
“ the whole Universe might know, the Roman  
“ People valued themselves upon undertaking and  
“ terminating wars with justice; that accordingly  
“ he would grant them peace upon the following  
“ conditions: That the Carthaginians should  
“ withdraw their troops from Italy and Gaul;  
“ that they should entirely renounce Spain, and  
“ all the islands between Africa and Italy. That  
“ they should deliver up all their ships of war,  
“ except twenty; and supply them with five hun-  
“ dred thousand bushels of wheat, and three hun-  
“ dred thousand bushels of barley.” Authors

\* They mean the two Punic wars.

differ concerning the sum of money they were to pay. According to Livy, some affirmed, that they demanded five thousand talents (about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds;) some five thousand pounds of silver in weight; and, lastly, others said, that he demanded that they should give his soldiers double pay. He gave them three days to deliberate upon these proposals; and in case Carthage should accept them, he agreed to grant them a truce, during which they might send Ambassadors to Rome. The conditions were accepted; because the Carthaginians thought only of gaining time, till Hannibal should be returned to Africa. Accordingly they appointed two embassies; the one to Scipio, to conclude the truce; and the other to Rome, to demand peace. They sent a small number of prisoners and deserters with the last, only for form sake, and to make it appear that they really desired peace.

In the mean time Lælius had arrived several days before at Rome, with Syphax, and the most considerable of the Numidian prisoners. He related to the Senate all that had passed in Africa; which occasioned great joy for the present, and gave great hopes of the future. The Senators having deliberated upon this account, were of opinion that Syphax should be confined at Alba, and that Lælius should stay at Rome, till the arrival of the Ambassadors from Carthage. Besides which, thanksgivings were decreed to the gods for four days; and the Prætor P. Ælius, having dismissed the Senate, and called an assembly of the People, ascended the tribunal of harangues with Lælius. As soon as the citizens were informed, from the mouth of Scipio's lieutenant, that the armies of the Carthaginians had been defeated and put to rout; that a famous and powerful King had been made prisoner; and that all Numidia

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

*Lælius arrives at Rome. The news of the victories gained in Africa, occasions great joy there.*  
Liv. xxx. 17.

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

was subjected, they gave themselves to immoderate joy, which they expressed by the loud cries and other impetuous motions, which are common with the multitude on the like occasions. For this reason the Prætor immediately decreed, that the temples should be opened throughout the city, and that the People should be at liberty to enter them during the whole day, to return the gods the thanks such great benefits deserved. This lively gratitude amongst an idolatrous people is a good lesson, and often a great reproach to us.

*Ambassadors from Masinissa well received by the Senate.*

The next day the same Prætor introduced Masinissa's Ambassadors into the Senate, " who began by congratulating the Romans upon the victories gained by Scipio in Africa. They then testified their gratitude in the name of their master, first, as Scipio had not only acknowledged, but made him, King, by re-establishing him in the dominions of his father, in which, after the fall of Syphax, he should reign from thenceforth, if the Senate thought fit, without rival or competitor: and next, as after having given him great praises in the full assembly, he had added to them magnificent presents, of which that Prince had before endeavoured to render himself worthy; that he should spare no pains to merit further for the time to come. That he desired the Senate to ratify by a decree all that Scipio had done in his favour, as well in respect to the title of King, as all the other gifts and benefactions, with which he had honoured him. That he also desired they would be pleased, if they found no inconvenience in it, to release all the Numidian prisoners confined at Rome; which favour would do Masinissa honour with his subjects." The Ambassadors were answered, " That the King ought to share with the Romans in the compliments,



“ pliments, which the successes in Africa deserved. A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.  
 “ That Scipio in treating him as King, and giving  
 “ him all the other marks of esteem and benevo-  
 “ lence, had perfectly answered the intentions of  
 “ the Senate, who approved and ratified the whole  
 “ with abundance of pleasure.” They afterwards  
 fixed the presents, which the Ambassadors were to  
 carry to their King: these were two purple man-  
 tles with gold clasps, two Senatorian robes, called  
*Laticlavi*; two horses richly caparisoned; two  
 cuirasses, with the rest of the armor for an horse-  
 man; two tents with all the military appurtenances  
 to them which were usually given the Consuls.  
 The Prætor had orders to cause these gifts to be  
 carried to Masinissa. The Ambassadors received,  
 by way of present, each five thousand pieces of  
 money, and two habits; and those of their train  
 had each one thousand pieces, and one habit: an  
 habit was also given to each of the Numidians  
 taken out of the prisons, and restored to the  
 King. The Ambassadors were lodged and re-  
 galed at the expence of the Roman People.

The same campaign in which these things were  
 decreed at Rome, and executed in Africa, the  
 Prætor P. Quintilius Varus, and the Proconsul  
 M. Cornelius, fought a pitched battle in the coun-  
 try of the Insubrian Gauls, with Mago the Car-  
 thaginian General, Hannibal's brother. The vic-  
 tory was long disputed, and at last declared for the  
 Romans, but it cost them dear. This was the  
 last battle, that was fought between the Carthagi-  
 nians and Romans in Italy. Mago, who had  
 been wounded in the battle, retired the following  
 night towards the sea-coast, where he found depu-  
 ties from Carthage, who a few days before had  
 entered the gulf of Genoa with their ships, and  
 ordered him to return immediately to Africa,  
 whither his brother Hannibal had also received or-

*Mago is  
 defeated.  
 He re-  
 ceives or-  
 ders to re-  
 pass into  
 Africa,  
 and dies on  
 the way.*

A. R. 549. ders to repair as soon as possible. He embarked  
Ant. C. 203. directly with his troops, but died of his wounds  
before he got beyond the island of Sardinia.

## S E C T. III.

*Hannibal quits Italy with grief, and with a kind of rage. Anxiety of the Romans in respect to Scipio. Embassy from Saguntum to Rome. On the remonstrances of some Senators public prayers to thank the gods for the departure of Hannibal were decreed. The Ambassadors of Carthage demand peace of the Senate. They are referred to Scipio. The Consul Servilius is recalled from Sicily to Italy. The Carthaginians break the truce by taking some ships. The Ambassadors of Scipio are insulted at Carthage. Hannibal arrives in Africa. Complaints of the Grecian allies against Philip. Death of the great Fabius. Distribution of the provinces under the new Consuls. Anxiety of the Romans on the departure of Hannibal. Scipio sends back Hannibal's spies. Interview between Hannibal and Scipio. Speech of Hannibal from Polybius. Scipio's answer from the same Polybius. Hannibal's speech from Livy. Preparations for a decisive battle. Scipio draws up his army in battle. Hannibal does the same. The two Generals exhort their armies. Battle of Zama between Hannibal and Scipio. Victory of the Romans. Praise of Hannibal.*

*Hannibal  
quits Italy  
with grief,  
and with  
a kind of  
rage.*

*Liv. xxx.  
20.*

*App. de  
Bell. Ann.  
346—348.*

**W**E have before observed, that deputies had been sent to Hannibal, to order him to return to Africa with his troops without loss of time. He could not hear them without trembling with rage and indignation, and refrained from tears not without great difficulty. When they had done speaking, he said, *It is no longer by indirect means,*





A. R. 549.  
 AN. C. 203.

“ venting against himself, says Livy, a thousand  
 “ imprecations for not having led his soldiers  
 “ reeking with the blood of the Romans \* after  
 “ the battle of Cannæ to Rome. That Scipio,  
 “ who during his Consulship had not so much as  
 “ seen the Carthaginians in Italy, had the cou-  
 “ rage and boldness to go to Africa to attack  
 “ Carthage; whereas he, who had killed above an  
 “ hundred thousand men at Thrasymenus and  
 “ Cannæ, had unfortunately lost his time at Ca-  
 “ pilinum, Cumæ and Nola.” It was with these  
 mournful complaints mixed with bitter reproaches  
 against himself, that he tore himself from the  
 heart of Italy, of which he had been so long in  
 possession.

*Anxiety of  
 the Ro-  
 mans for  
 Scipio.  
 Liv. XXX.  
 21.*

The Romans at the same time received advice  
 of the retreat of Hannibal, and of that of Mago.  
 The joy which so happy a deliverance would have  
 given them, was much abated by the anxiety they  
 were in for Scipio, upon whom alone the whole  
 weight of the war was now to fall. And indeed,  
 they had ordered their Generals in Italy to keep  
 Hannibal and Mago there; and they were highly  
 dissatisfied, that their orders had been so ill o-  
 beyed.

*Ambassa-  
 dors from  
 Saguntum  
 to Rome.*

About this time arrived at Rome Ambassadors  
 from Saguntum, who brought with them some  
 Carthaginian officers, that had been sent to Spain  
 to raise troops there, and had been taken prison-  
 ers. They displayed in the porch of the Senate  
 the money those officers had brought with them,  
 which amounted to two hundred and fifty pounds  
 of gold in weight, and eight hundred in silver.  
 The prisoners they brought were accepted, and  
 were immediately put under a good guard: but

\* Livy always supposes this Hannibal, which he afterwards  
 to be an essential fault in Han- repented,

they

they were obliged to take back the money, and were thanked for their attention and zeal. Presents were also made them, and ships given them to carry them back into Spain.

Though Rome had desired, that Hannibal might be prevented from going to Africa, it was however highly for the good of Italy to be delivered from so formidable an enemy ; and some of the most antient and considerable Senators, moved by the kind of indifference, with which this event had been considered, made a very wise reflexion, that may be of great use in all times. They observed, “ (a) that men were less sensible of the good they received, than of the ill that they suffered. What terror and consternation had attended Hannibal’s entering Italy ! What calamities, losses and defeats, had they sustained since that time ! That they had seen the enemy imcamped at the gates of Rome. What vows had they not made to be delivered from these evils ! How often had they cried out in their assemblies : *Shall we never see the happy day, when Italy shall be delivered from its cruel enemies, and enjoy the blessings of peace and tranquillity ?* That the gods had at length heard their prayers, and granted them that grace after sixteen years of alarms and miseries, and that no one had proposed to return them thanks for so great a good. (b) So true it was, that men, far from being grateful for past favours, were little affected with those they received at present.” After this discourse they demanded with warmth, that the Prætor should bring on this question : and it was immediately

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

*On the remon-  
strances of  
some Sena-  
tors bank-  
givings are  
decreed for  
Hannibal’s  
departure.*

(a) Segnius homines bona, quam mala, sentire. quidem gratiam homines benignè accipere, nedum ut præ-

(b) Adeo, ne advenientem teritæ satis memores sint ?

decreed

A. R. 119.  
 Abt. C. 103.

decreed with unanimous consent, that during five days the temples of the city should be visited with grateful piety, and that an hundred and twenty great victims should be sacrificed to the gods.

*The Ambassadors of Carthage demand peace of the Romans. They are referred to Scipio.*  
 Liv. XXX.  
 22.

Lælius, and Masinissa's Ambassadors, were already dismissed, when advice came that those of Carthage, who had been sent to ask peace were arrived at Puteoli, from whence they were to come to Rome by land. The Ambassadors were not received in the city. They were lodged in a country house belonging to the Commonwealth, and had audience in the Temple of Bellona. They expressed themselves almost in the same words as they had used to Scipio, imputing the whole cause of the war solely to Hannibal. "That he passed  
 " the Iberus without the order of the Senate, and  
 " then the Alps, and that he had declared war,  
 " first against the Saguntines, and afterwards a-  
 " gainst the Romans, by his own authority ; but  
 " that to judge rightly of things, the treaty of  
 " alliance, which had been made in the time of,  
 " and by the Consul Lutatius, had not been vio-  
 " lated in the least by the Senate and People of  
 " Carthage. That for these reasons, their instru-  
 " ctions extended no farther than to demand the  
 " observation of the peace, which had been con-  
 " cluded at that time between the Romans and  
 " Carthaginians."

The Prætor then, according to the antient custom, having permitted the Senators to ask the deputies such questions as they should judge proper, many of the seniors, who had been concerned in the treaties, interrogated them upon different articles. But the deputies, most of whom were young men, having answered, that they had no knowledge of those things which had happened in their infancy, the usual bad faith of the Carthaginians was exclaimed against on all sides, who had de-  
 signedly



signedly chosen young Ambassadors to treat of an antient peace, of which they had neither the least remembrance, nor any knowledge whatsoever. A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

They were then made to quit the Senate, which proceeded to deliberate. M. Livius was for having the Consul C. Servilius, who was nearest Rome, sent for, in order that the Senate might consider of the peace in his presence. He represented, “ that the affair being of the most important nature, it did not seem consistent with the dignity of the Roman People, to determine concerning it without the participation of the two Consuls, or at least of one of them.” Q. Metellus, who always favoured Scipio, said: “ That as it was P. Scipio, who, by cutting the armies of the Carthaginians to pieces, and ravaging their countries, had reduced them to the necessity of humbly beseeching peace; no body could better judge of their intentions in asking it, than he who actually threatened the walls of Carthage. That he therefore believed, they ought to direct themselves solely by his counsel, in respect to granting, or refusing, them peace.” M. Valerius Lævinus, who had been Consul with Marcellus, affirmed, “ that they were rather spies, than Ambassadors, who were come from Carthage; and he concluded, that they ought to be made to quit Italy directly; that they should be sent under a guard to their ships; and that Scipio should be wrote to, to continue the war without any cessation.” Lælius and Fulvius added, “ That Scipio had not supposed the peace could subsist, if Mago and Hannibal should be recalled from Italy. That the Carthaginians would refuse no conditions, as long as they expected those two Generals and their armies: but that they should no sooner hear, that they were upon their return, but they would have

“ no

A. R. 540.  
Ant. C. 203.

“ no regard to treaties, nor the gods themselves,  
“ and instantly resume their arms.” Every thing  
well considered, they adhered to the opinion of  
Lævinus, and the ambassadors were dismissed  
without obtaining any thing, and almost without  
any answer.

*The Con-  
sul Servi-  
lius re-  
called from  
Sicily into  
Italy.*  
Liv. xxx.  
24.

In the mean time the Consul Cn. Servilius, as-  
suming to himself the glory of having restored  
peace to Italy, went over to Sicily with design to  
pursue Hannibal to Africa. He imagined, through  
a ridiculous vanity, that it was he who had driven  
the Carthaginian General out of Italy, and conse-  
quently that it was necessary to pursue him. When  
this news came to Rome, the Senate were at first  
of opinion, that the Prætor should write to the  
Consul, that it was the opinion of the Senate, that  
he should return to Italy. But the Prætor having  
remonstrated, that the Consul would have no re-  
gard to his letters, P. Sulpicius was declared Di-  
ctator, who in virtue of an authority superior to  
that of the Consul, having obliged Servilius to re-  
turn to Italy, passed the rest of the year with  
M. Servilius, his General of the horse, in visiting  
the cities of Italy which the war had detached  
from the service of the Romans, and in examin-  
ing the different circumstances of their defection,  
which might render each of them more or less  
criminal.

*The Car-  
thaginians  
violate the  
truce by  
taking  
some Ro-  
man ves-  
sels.*  
Liv. xxx.  
24.  
App Bell.  
Pun. 18,  
19.  
Polyb. xv.  
639.

During the truce, a great convoy sent by Len-  
tulus Prætor of Sardinia, and consisting of an  
hundred transports, with twenty Ships of war,  
arrived in Africa, without having ran any risque  
either from the enemy or the sea. Cn. Octavius  
was not so fortunate. For having left Sicily with  
two hundred transports and thirty ships of war,  
when he arrived almost in sight of Africa without  
any danger, he was becalmed; and soon after the  
wind becoming quite contrary, dispersed his trans-  
ports.

ports. As for himself with his great ships, after having struggled a considerable time with the waves, that drove him back, by the help of oars he arrived at the promontory of Apollo. But the transports were most of them driven upon the coast of the island Ægimurus, which on the side next the main sea closes the gulph, in which Carthage is built, about thirty miles from that city. The rest were carried opposite to that city, to the place called at that time *the Hot Baths*. All this passed in the sight of Carthage. The people in consequence ran to the public place. The magistrates assembled the Senate. The multitude, who were in the porch, pressed the Senators to give the necessary orders not to let so considerable a prey escape, which in a manner came of itself into their hands. The most prudent represented in vain, that they had sent to ask peace, and that the time of the truce was not expired: the people, mingled with the Senators, made such warm instances, as at last obliged the Senate to permit Asdrubal to go with a fleet of fifty ships to the island Ægimurus, to cruize along the coasts, and neighbouring ports, in order to pick up the vessels of the Romans, which the storm had dispersed, and to bring them to Carthage. We see in this an instance of the Carthaginian character, greedy of gain to madness, and far from nice in point of public faith.

Scipio was the more incensed on this insult of the Carthaginians, as the truce, which he had granted at their earnest intreaty, still subsisted, and they had not even staid for the return of the ambassadors, who were gone to Rome. He sent three deputies to Carthage, to complain of this infraction which destroyed all hope of concluding a peace. They were insulted on their arrival by the multitude who assembled round them, and would perhaps have been more so at their return, if the

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

Scipio's  
ambassadors are  
insulted at  
Carthage.  
Liv. xxx.  
25.  
Polyb. xv.  
689 - 692

magi-



A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

magistrates, at their request, had not given them an escorte, which conducted them to some small distance from the Roman camp. But in that short space, four galleys detached from the Carthaginian fleet, came to attack that which carried the ambassadors. It defended itself vigorously a great while ; but at length to escape the enemy, was forced to run on shore. Only the vessel was lost.

Liv. *ibid.*  
Polyb. xv.  
693.

It was after this double infraction of the truce, that Fulvius and Lælius arrived from Rome in Scipio's camp with the Carthaginian deputies. That General might have used reprisals. But having no thoughts of revenge, except by excelling the Carthaginians in virtue, and opposing their breach of faith with his own generous probity, he dismissed them after having told them : “ That  
“ though the Carthaginians had not only broken  
“ the truce by attacking his ships, but even violated  
“ the law of nations by attacking and insulting his  
“ ambassadors ; however that he should not act in  
“ their regard in a manner repugnant to the Ro-  
“ man gravity, or his own generosity.” As soon as they set out, he put himself into a condition to continue the war, as it had began.

*Hannibal  
arrives in  
Africa.*

Hannibal was almost ready to land, when one of the mariners, who had got on the top of the mast to discover the land, told him that the head of the admiral's ship stood towards a ruined tomb. Not liking that omen, he ordered the pilot to steer farther on : and accordingly he landed a little lower, near Leptis.

*Complaints  
of the Al-  
lies of the  
Greeks  
against  
Philip.*

About the end of the year of which we are speaking, the cities of Greece in alliance with the Roman People sent deputies to Rome to complain, that their lands had been ravaged by Philip's troops, and that that Prince had refused to receive the ambassadors, who had been sent to demand justice of him. They declared at the same time,

time, that he had sent four thousand men under the command of Sopater with great sums of money, to assist Hannibal in Africa. Upon this news, the Senate was of opinion, that ambassadors should be sent to him, to declare in the name of the Romans, that such conduct seemed to them an infraction of the treaty of peace, which had been made between them and him. C. Terentius Varro, C. Mamilius, and M. Aurelius, who were charged with this embassy, set out in three galleys of five benches of oars, which were given them for this voyage.

This same year was remarkable for the death of the great Fabius. He was generally regretted by all the good citizens. Every individual, with design to honour his memory, and to testify their gratitude for the considerable services which he had rendered his country, contributed to the expence of his funeral, as to that of their common father. The People had done his grandfather Fabius Rullus the same honour.

The Fabius of whom we speak here, died in a very advanced age, if we believe Valerius Maximus. For, according to that author, he was Augustur sixty two years, and no doubt he was at man's estate when he entered upon that office : from whence he concludes, that he had lived an whole age. But this opinion carries with it some difficulty. If his life were very long, it was also very glorious from his excellent qualities and great actions, which would have deserved the surname of *Maximus*, most Great, though he had not found it already established in his family. (a) In respect to

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

*Death of  
Fabius  
Maximus.*  
Liv. xxx.  
26.

Val. Max.  
viii 13.  
6.

(a) Superavit paternos honores, avitos æquavit. Pluribus victoriis & majoribus præliis avus insignis Rullus : sed omnia æquare unus hostis Annibal potest. Cautior tamen, quàm promptior, hic habitus fuit : &, sicut dubites, utrum

A. R. 549.  
Ant. C. 203.

to the great offices, he exceeded his \* father's glory, and equally that of his grandfather Rullus, who as well as himself had been five times Consul, and was also surnamed *Maximus*. Rullus indeed fought more battles than him, and gained more victories : but to have been capable of opposing such an enemy as Hannibal, is a merit and title of honour that may stand in comparison with the greatest exploits. He shewed more prudence and circumspection than ardour and vivacity. It cannot well be determined whether this slow and wary conduct proceeded from his genius and natural character, or whether it was the conjuncture and nature of the war, with which he was charged, that gave him this spirit of precaution and reserve. But it is certain, that this wise delayer preserved the commonwealth by it, as Ennius observes in a verse in every body's mouth.

*Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

M. SERVILIUS.

TI. CLAUDIUS.

*Distribution of the provinces.*  
Liv. xxx.  
27.

The new Consuls desired with equal ardour to have Africa for their province. The affair was referred to the people, who continued the command to Scipio. The Senate was however obliged, without doubt by their great importunity, to order that one of the Consuls should go to Africa with a fleet of fifty galleys, all of five benches of

ntrum ingenio cunctator fuerit, an quia ita bello propriè quod tum gerebatur aptum erat; sic nihil certius est, quàm unum hominem nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut

Ennius ait. *Liv.*

\* *Fabius Gurges was Consul only three times, and Fabius Cunctator his son was so five times.*



oars, and should have equal authority with Scipio. Lots determined that employment to Ti. Claudius. The other Consul had Etruria for his province. To draw down the protection of heaven, the Consuls were ordered, before they set out for the war, to celebrate games, and sacrifice the great victims, which the Dictator T. Manlius had \* promised to the gods in the Consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus and T. Quintius, in case the Commonwealth should be in the same condition it then was at the expiration of five years : which was executed.

In the mean time people were divided between hope and fear, and those two passions increased every day. They did not know whether they “ should rejoice that Hannibal, after having in a “ manner been in possession of Italy during six- “ teen years, had at length abandoned it ; or la- “ ment for his having returned into Africa with “ his troops. They said, that the war, from “ having changed its seat, was not the less dan- “ gerous. That, Q. Fabius, who was lately dead, “ had often foretold, that Hannibal would be “ much more formidable, when he fought in de- “ fence of his country, than he was in attacking “ that of an enemy. That Scipio had not to “ deal with a barbarous King like Syphax, of no “ experience in war, with his father-in-law As- “ drubal, more disposed to fly than to fight, nor “ with a multitude of peasants drawn together in “ haste, and half armed : but with Hannibal, “ that famous Captain, who to use the expres- “ sion, was born in his father’s tent and had been “ brought up in the midst of arms ; who had

A. R. 540.  
Ant. C. 202.

*Anxiety of the Ro-  
mans in  
effect of  
Hannibal's  
departure.  
Liv. xxx.  
28.*

\* This vow should have been accordingly. Some obstacle evi-  
accomplished the year before, dently must have happened.  
and orders had been given ac-

A. R. 570.  
Ant. C. 202.

“ served from his infancy, and commanded in  
 “ chief from his earliest youth ; who, always fol-  
 “ lowed by victory, had made Spain, the Gauls,  
 “ and Italy, resound with nothing but his name,  
 “ and left in all those provinces glorious monu-  
 “ ments of his exploits. That he was at the head  
 “ of soldiers as old in service as himself, enured  
 “ to perils and labours ; that seemed to transcend  
 “ human force ; that had a thousand times been  
 “ covered with Roman blood, and carried with  
 “ them the spoils not only of soldiers, but even of  
 “ Generals. That Scipio would meet in battle  
 “ many Carthaginians who had killed Prætors,  
 “ Generals, and Consuls, with their own hands,  
 “ that were distinguishable by crowns, and other  
 “ military rewards, the undoubted proofs of their  
 “ bravery ; who had taken cities, and stormed  
 “ camps. That all the Roman magistrates toge-  
 “ ther had not so many *fascæ* carried before them,  
 “ as Hannibal had taken from the Generals,  
 “ whom he had killed in different battles.”

By this kind of reflexions they themselves augmented their terror and anxiety. Besides which, being accustomed during many years to see war made, to use the expression, before their eyes in different parts of Italy, in a manner slowly enough, and without hope of a speedy end, their attention and alarms redoubled, when they saw Scipio and Hannibal upon the point of coming to blows in order to terminate so famous a quarrel. Those themselves who had the highest opinion of Scipio, and assured themselves most of victory, felt their anxiety and terror exceedingly increase, as the fatal and decisive hour approached.

The Carthaginians were very near in the same disposition. Sometimes, seeing Hannibal near, and considering the greatness of his military exploits, they repented their having asked peace with

to much eagerness ; sometimes reflecting that they had lost two battles ; that Syphax, their friend and ally, was a prisoner ; that they had been driven out of Spain and Italy ; and that all these disgraces were the effects of the valour and conduct of Scipio, they could not help trembling through fear, that the fates had given birth to that General for the ruin and destruction of Carthage.

Hannibal being come to \* Adrumetum, gave *Scipio* his troops some days rest after their voyage. But *sends back Hannibal's spies.* being pressed by couriers, sent to inform him, *Po'yb. xv. 693.* that all the neighbourhood of Carthage swarmed with the enemy, he repaired to Zama, marching *Liv. xxx. 29.* with abundance of diligence. That place is but five days march from Carthage. From thence he sent out spies, to examine the motions of the enemy. But those spies were stopt by the advanced guards of the Romans, and carried to Scipio. That General, always full of confidence and generosity, told them, they had nothing to fear from him. He even put them into the hands of one of the legionary Tribunes, whom he ordered to carry them into every part of his camp. and to suffer them to see and examine every thing at their pleasure. Afterwards, having asked them, whether they had satisfied their curiosity, he gave them an escorte, and sent them back to their General. *Appian 21.*

Hannibal heard nothing from his spies but bad news ; amongst the rest, that Masinissa arrived that very day with a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse. But what struck him most, was the air of confidence and assurance, which Scipio shewed ; and which Hannibal considered as a proof, but too well founded, of his enemy's strength. Accordingly, though he was

\* A city of Barbary.



A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

*Hannibal  
applies to  
Masinissa  
to obtain  
an inter-  
view with  
Scipio.  
App. Bell.  
Punic. 20.*

the author of the war, and his return had occasioned the infraction of the truce and put a stop to the negotiations ; he flattered himself, that if he treated of peace whilst he had all his forces, he should obtain more favourable conditions, than if he were overcome. He first sent to Masinissa, putting him in mind of his residence at Carthage in his early years, to receive there an education suitable to his birth, and which, for that reason, he ought to consider as his second country. The only favour he asked of him was to obtain him an interview with Scipio. Masinissa who retained a lively sense of gratitude for the instructions he had received at Carthage, and who still had many friends in that place, joyfully undertook this commission, and told Scipio Hannibal's request, which Scipio made no difficulty to comply with.

Polyb. xv.  
694.  
Liv. xxx.  
29.

Those two Generals, in concert, incamped nearer to each other, in order to negotiate with more ease. Scipio's camp was at a small distance from Nadagara, in a place, which, besides other advantages, was not farther from the water, than half a bow shot. Hannibal was posted four miles from thence, upon an eminence advantageous enough, except the necessity of fetching water a great way. They chose for their conference a place situated between the two camps, and open enough to leave no room for apprehending any surprize. The next day both quitted their camps with some horse, whom they afterwards made withdraw. Those two Generals then, not only the most illustrious of their times, but comparable to the most famous Captains, and greatest Kings of preceding ages, conferred together, each having an interpreter. They continued silent some time, to consider each other attentively, and struck with mutual admiration ; Hannibal spoke first.

The

The speeches made by these two Generals to each other are in Polybius and Livy. I thought the reader would not be displeased at my inserting them from both in this place. I shall take party with neither, and will not prejudice his judgment. I content myself with observing, that Polybius wrote first, and was a soldier.

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

HANNIBAL's speech from Polybius, XV. 694.

*I could have been sincerely glad, that the Romans and Carthaginians had never thought of extending their conquests, the first beyond Italy, and the latter beyond Africa, and that both had confined themselves within those fine Empires, of which nature itself seems to have fixed the bounds and limits. On both sides we have been far from such a conduct. We first took arms for Sicily. We afterwards disputed for the dominion of Spain. At length, blinded by fortune, we rose so high as to desire our mutual destruction. You have been reduced to defend the walls of your country against me, and we in our turn, are in the same danger. It should be high time, after having appeased the anger of the gods, for us to think of banishing at length from our hearts the obstinate jealousy, that has armed us hitherto against each other.*

*As to me, taught by experience how high the inconsistency of fortune rises, for how little she has occasion to bring about the most dreadful revolutions, and lastly what pleasure she seems to take in making mankind her sport, I am much disposed to peace. But I much fear, Scipio, that you are not in the same disposition. You are in the flower of life: you have succeeded in all things to your desire in Spain and Africa: and nothing hitherto, has interrupted the course of your prosperity. All this makes me apprehend, that however strong my reasons to incline you*

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

*to a peace may be, that you will not suffer yourself to be persuaded.*

*However pray consider, how little fortune is to be relied upon. In order to this you need not go far for examples: cast your eyes on me. I am that Hannibal, who, when become master of almost all Italy by the battle of Cannæ, went some time after to Rome itself, and when incamped forty stadia from that city, considered myself already as the absolute arbiter of the fate of the Romans and their country. And now, at my return into Africa, behold me obliged to come to treat with a Roman concerning the conditions upon which he shall vouchsafe to grant me my own safety, and that of Carthage. Let this example teach you not to indulge pride, and to reflect that you are man.*

*When we deliberate on any affair, wisdom requires that of advantages we should chuse the greatest, and of evils the least. Now what man of sense would in cool blood expose himself to so great a danger as that which threatens you? Though you should gain a victory, you would not add much either to your own glory, or that of your country: whereas, if you are defeated, you lose in one moment all the glory and renown you have hitherto acquired.*

*But to what does this discourse tend? It is to induce you to agree to the following conditions: That Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, which have heretofore been the cause of our wars, shall from henceforth remain to the Romans, and that the Carthaginians shall never take up arms against them in order to dispute with them the possession of all those countries; and that in like manner all the islands between Italy and Africa shall appertain to the Romans. These conditions seem to me to suit both States. On the one side, they will secure the Carthaginians for the time to come; and on the other, they are very glorious for you,*



you, yourself in particular, and your whole Commonwealth, So Hannibal spoke.

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

Scipio's answer also from Polybius, XV.  
696, 697.

Scipio replied, “ That it had not been the  
 “ Romans, but the Carthaginians, who had oc-  
 “ casioned the war in Sicily, and that of Spain :  
 “ that he called Hannibal himself to witness to  
 “ this, who certainly could not disown it : but  
 “ that the gods themselves had determined the  
 “ question, in declaring by the success, not  
 “ for the Carthaginians, the authors of an un-  
 “ just war, but for the Romans, who had only  
 “ defended themselves. That however, these  
 “ successes did not make him forget the incon-  
 “ stancy of fortune, nor the uncertainty of hu-  
 “ man things.” He continued, *If before the Ro-  
 mans had come to Africa, you had quitted Italy, and  
 proposed the same conditions as you now offer, I do not  
 believe they would have refused to hearken to them.  
 But at present, when you have been obliged to abandon  
 Italy, and we are in Africa masters of the field, the  
 state of things is much altered. We consented, at  
 the request of your fellow-citizens, who had been de-  
 feated, to begin a treaty with them, the articles of  
 which have been reduced to writing. Besides those  
 which you propose, this treaty imported, that the Car-  
 thaginians should restore us all our prisoners without  
 ransom ; that they should deliver up their ships of  
 war ; that they should pay us five thousand talents,  
 and that they should give us hostages for all this. Such  
 are the conditions upon which we agreed. Both sides  
 sent to Rome to have them ratified by the Senate and  
 People ; we, on our part, declaring, that we ap-  
 proved them ; and the Carthaginians earnestly desi-  
 ring, that they should be granted them. And after*

A. R. 530.  
 Ann. C. 302.

*the Senate and People had given their consent, the Carthaginians broke their engagement, and deceived us. What is to be done after this? Put yourself in my place, I desire you, and give me an answer. Must we acquit them of what is of greatest moment in the treaty? That would certainly be a marvellous expedient to teach them to deceive those for the future who have obliged them. But, you will say, that if they obtain what they demand, they will never forget so great a benefit. Of this we may judge from their still recent behaviour. What they asked with humble supplications, they obtained; and however, on the slightest hopes your return made them conceive, they were the first to treat us as enemies. If to the conditions, which have been repeated to you, some other still more rigorous one should be added, in that case our treaty might again have been carried before the Roman People; but as you, on the contrary, retrench from those which have been agreed on before, there is no farther report to be made of it. If then you ask me in my turn upon what I conclude, it is in one word, that you either must surrender yourself and country at discretion, or a battle must decide in your favour.*

*Speech of HANNIBAL from Livy, XXX. 30.*

*Since it is the decree of the fates, that after having been the first cause of the present war, and having had victory so often in my hand, I should be reduced to take the first steps for asking a peace, I am highly glad that I am to address myself to such a General as you. You have signalized yourself by many famous exploits; but it will not be the least glorious circumstance of your life, that Hannibal, to whom the gods have so often granted victory over Roman Generals, hath been obliged to give place to you; and that you have terminated a war, that has been memorable by the defeats of you, before it was so by those*

those of us. And what may be considered as a kind of caprice and sport of fortune is, that your father was the first of the Roman Generals that I met in arms, and that I am now come without arms to meet his son, in order to ask peace of him.

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

It were to be wished, that the gods had inspired our forefathers with a spirit of moderation and peace, and that you had confined yourselves within the bounds of Italy, and we within those of Africa. For indeed Sicily and Sardinia, of which fortune made you masters, are but small amends for the many considerable fleets, numerous armies, and great Captains, which those two provinces have cost. But let us leave the past, which may be blamed, but cannot be altered. Our successes have been equal hitherto, and by attacking each other in our several countries, we have exposed ourselves to perish in our own. Rome has seen the Carthaginian armies incamped at her gates, and at the foot of her walls; and we now hear at Carthage the noise of the arms and camp of the Romans.

We now treat of peace at the time when you are at the height of success, that is, at a conjuncture which is now as contrary to us, as it is favourable to you. You and I, who treat of it, are certainly the persons who have most interest that it should be speedily terminated, and most authority not to be disclaimed by our Commonwealths. In order to conclude it, we want only a disposition of mind, not desirous to retard it. As to me, who return in an advanced age into my country, after having left it almost in my infancy, during so great a length of time, I have learnt from the different successes I have had, to confide more in reason and prudence than in chance and fortune. I am afraid, that you have not the same sentiments, and that your youth, and the good fortune that has hitherto always attended you, inspire you with lofty thoughts, that are averse to peace and moderation. Adversity seldom affects the minds of  
those,



A. R. 550.  
A.D. C.202.

*these, who have never been unfortunate. You are at this time, what I was formerly at Thrasymenus and Cannæ. You had scarce learnt to obey, when the command of armies was confided to you; and, since then, you have succeeded beyond your hopes in all the enterprizes you have formed, however bold they were. The very calamities of your family you have made conduce to your glory; you have avenged the deaths of your father and uncle, and given the whole universe a shining proof of your valour and piety. After having driven four Carthaginian armies out of Spain, you have recovered those provinces, which the Romans had lost just before. You have been made Consul; and in conjunctures wherein all the other Generals had not courage enough to defend Italy, you have been so bold to come to Africa, where you no sooner arrived, but after having successively defeated two armies, after having burnt and taken two camps at the same instant, after having taken Syphax, the most powerful King of the whole country, and reduced a great number of cities, as well of his dominions as ours, into subjection; you at length have forced me from Italy, of which I had been sixteen years in possession.*

*You (a) therefore may be more allured by the charms of victory than the sweets of peace. I know the character of the Romans: you are more affected with the glorious, than the solid. And as to myself, in happier times I was soothed with the same illusions. If the gods with good fortune gave us also right reason and understanding, we should think of what might happen hereafter, as well as what has happened heretofore. Not to propose the example of so many other Captains, mine alone may teach you the*

(a) Potest victoriam malle, si in secundis rebus bonam quam pacem, animus. Novi quoque mentem darent dii, vobis spiritus magis magnos, non ea solum quæ evenissent, sed etiam ea quæ evenire possunt, reputaremus.

various

various revolutions of fortune: Me, whom you saw A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202. not long since, incamped between Rome and the Anio, upon the point of scaling the walls of that city. You see me now, after having lost two illustrious brothers, trembling for Carthage already almost besieged, and reduced to desire you to spare my country, the alarms which I have given yours.

The more fortune smiles upon us, the less we ought to trust her. Now when you are prosperous in every thing, and our condition is doubtful, peace will be glorious to you who give it; whereas to us who ask it, it will be more necessary than honourable. A certain peace is better than a dubious victory. The first depends on you, the other is in the power of the gods. Do not expose yourself to lose in one moment, what you have been so many years acquiring. When you reflect upon your strength, consider also the inconstancy of fortune, and the uncertainty of battle. There will be arms and men on both sides. In war especially, events least answer the hopes with which men flatter themselves. Victory, supposing it declares for you, will not add so much to the advantages that peace secures you, as bad success will diminish them. A single moment may deprive you, both of all your past acquisitions, and all you may hope for the future. In making peace, Scipio, it is you who decide your own fate: in fighting, the gods will dispose of it. Regulus had been, in the very country where we now are, one of the most glorious examples of valour and good fortune, if, after having overcome our fathers, he had granted them peace. But, by suffering himself to be dazzled by prosperity, and not having made a moderate use of his good fortune, his fall was the more deplorable, as it was from the exalted height to which fortune had raised him.

I know that it is for him who gives peace to prescribe the conditions: but perhaps we are not unworthy of determining the punishment we deserve to undergo

A. R. 550.  
 Ann. C. 202.

*dergo ourselves. We consent that you remain masters of all the countries, which have given occasion for the war: Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy. Confined within the narrow bounds of Africa, we shall see, since it is the will of the gods, the Romans extend their sway, both by sea and land, over many foreign nations.*

*I agree, that in effect of the little sincerity that has been shewn during the truce, and of the steps which have been taken for obtaining peace, the faith of the Carthaginians may be suspected by you. But the observation of a treaty depends much upon the authority of those that have concluded it. I am informed, that what principally induced your Senators to re-  
 nounce it us, was the want of dignity in the Ambassadors, who were sent to negotiate it. At present, it is Hannibal who asks it, because he believes it advantageous: and the same advantages which induce him to ask it, will also induce him to keep it. And as I have so acted, as to give none occasion to complain of the consequences of a war of which I was author, till the gods themselves seemed to envy my glory; I shall also spare no pains, that none may have cause to complain of a peace obtained by me.*

*Scipio's answer also taken from Livy, XXX. 31.*

*I well knew, Hannibal, that it was the hopes of your return, that induced the Carthaginians to break the truce, which had lately been made; and to renounce the peace, which seemed upon the point of being concluded. And you do not depart from this yourself, when you retrench from the conditions all that was at first granted, and leave us only what was long before in our possession. For the rest, as you have made your country sensible of the load you have taken off their shoulders, it is my part to prevent the advantages they ceded to us by the intended treaty, as they*



*they are now suppressed, from being the reward of their perfidy. Your Carthaginians do not deserve that the first conditions should be granted them; and they expect that their fraud should turn to their benefit. It was not the desire of possessing Sicily, that induced our fathers to carry their arms thither, or to conquer Spain that they went to that country. It was, on one side, the pressing danger of the Mamertines, our allies; and, on the other, the cruel ruin of Saguntum, that justly and equitably armed us. You yourself confess, that you were the aggressors, and the gods have clearly attested it, in granting those, who had right on their side, the advantage in the first war, as they again both do and will grant it in this.*

*As for me, I neither forget human frailty, nor the inconstancy of fortune; and I know that our designs are liable to a thousand miscarriages. And I further admit, that if you had voluntarily quitted Italy before I came to Africa, and had come to ask me to make peace, in that case I should not have been able to reject your proposals, without giving you room to accuse me of haughtiness and violence. But as it is against your will, and after a long resistance, that I have forced you to quit your prey, and to return to Africa; suffer me to tell you, that I am not bound by any good reason to comply with your desire. Therefore, in case some new article be added to the first conditions (you know them) by way of reparation for our ships taken with their lading, and for the insult committed upon our Ambassadors during the truce, I shall consult my council of war upon it. But if those first conditions seem too hard, prepare for the war, as you cannot suffer the terms of peace.*

After these speeches, the two Generals returned to the detachments they had left at a distance, and declared, that the interview having been ineffectual, it was absolutely necessary to come to blows.

A. R. 550.

Ant. C. 202.

*Prepara-**tions for a**decisive**battle.*

Liv. xxx.

32.

Polyb. xv.

697.

As soon as they arrived in their camps, “ they  
 “ ordered their soldiers to prepare their arms  
 “ and courage for a battle, which was upon the  
 “ point of deciding the fate of both People by  
 “ an irretrievable victory. That before the end  
 “ of the next day it would be known, whether  
 “ Rome or Carthage should give the law, not  
 “ only to Africa or Italy, but to the whole Uni-  
 “ verse, which would be the reward of this bat-  
 “ tle. That the danger which menaced the con-  
 “ quered, was equal to the advantage that would  
 “ attend the victors.” And accordingly, the  
 Romans, if they were unsuccessful, had no means  
 to escape from an unknown country of the enemy :  
 and the Carthaginians, after having employed their  
 sole and last resource in vain, could not fail of be-  
 ing ruined, if they were overcome.

The next day, the two greatest Generals of the  
 two most potent people of the world, and the  
 two most warlike armies that ever were, advanced  
 into the open field to an action, which on both  
 sides was to crown the glory they had already ac-  
 quired by so many exploits, or to obliterate it  
 for ever.

*Scipio**draws up**his army**in battle.*

Polyb. xv.

697.

Liv. xxx.

32.

App. 228.

Scipio drew up his troops in the following  
 manner. He posted the *Hastati* in the front line,  
 leaving intervals between the cohorts : in the se-  
 cond he placed the *Principes*, with their cohorts,  
 not behind the spaces of the first line, as was the  
 custom of the Romans, but behind the cohorts of  
 that front line, in order to leave openings for the  
 elephants of the enemy, which were very nu-  
 merous. The *Triarii* formed the third line in the  
 same order, and served as a *corps de reserve*. He  
 placed Lælius on the left wing with the Italian  
 cavalry, and Masinissa on the right with his Nu-  
 midians. In the spaces of the front line he placed  
 light-armed soldiers, and ordered them to begin  
 the

the battle, in such a manner, that if they could not sustain the charge of the elephants, they should retire, such of them as were most speedy, behind the whole army through the spaces that divided it in right lines; and those who should find themselves too much pressed, through the spaces between the lines on the right and left, in order to leave those animals a passage, in which they would be exposed to the darts discharged upon them on all sides.

As to Hannibal, in order to give the enemy more terror, he placed in that front his fourscore elephants, a number which he never had before in any battle. In the first line he posted the auxiliary troops of the Ligurians and Gauls, with the Balearians and Moors, who amounted in all to twelve thousand men. The second line, in which the principal force of the army consisted, was composed of Africans and Carthaginians. He posted the troops he had brought with him from Italy in the third line, and placed them above a \* *stadium* from the second line. He placed the Numidian cavalry upon the left wing, and the Carthaginian upon the right.

Such was the order of battle of the two armies. I could have wished, that Polybius, or Livy, had told us the exact number of the troops on both sides. Appian gives Hannibal in all fifty thousand men, and fourscore elephants; and Scipio, about twenty-three thousand foot, and fifteen hun-

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

*Hannibal*  
*does the*  
*same.*  
Polyb. xv.  
699.  
Liv. xxx.  
33.

\* Livy only says, that Hannibal left a small distance between these two lines: modico inde intervallo relicto. He adds, that most of these Italian soldiers had followed Hannibal rather through necessity than inclination: and in the sequel he says, that he placed them in the rear, and at some distance, because he did not know whether he was to consider them as friends or enemies: Italicos intervallo quoque diremptos, incertos focii an hostes essent. Polybius says nothing of all this.



A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

dred Roman and Italian horse, without including Masinissa's very numerous cavalry, and fifteen hundred horse of another Numidian Prince.

*The two  
Generals  
exhort  
their ar-  
mies.*

Polyb. xv.  
698, 699.  
Liv xxx.  
32, 33.  
App. 23.

Before the battle began, the Generals, on both sides, took care to animate their troops. Hannibal, besides enumerating the victories he had gained over the Romans, the Generals he had killed, the armies he had cut to pieces, used different motives for exhorting an army to fight well, composed of actions, that differed from each other in their language, customs, laws, habits, and arms, and who had not the same interest in making war. “ He promised the auxiliary troops, besides their usual pay, great rewards out of the spoils of the enemy. He sharpened the hatred, which the Gauls naturally had for the Roman Name. He offered the Ligurians the fertile countries of Italy, instead of the barren mountains they inhabited. He made the Moors and Numidians apprehend the tyrannical sway of Masinissa. As to what regarded the Carthaginians, he represented to them, that they were to defend the walls of their country, their household gods, their fathers and mothers, wives and children. That there was no medium : that they were that day, either to lose life and liberty by their defeat, or to acquire the empire of the universe by their victory.” He made use of interpreters, in order to be understood by the different nations.

Scipio, on his side, “ put the Romans in mind of the victories they had gained in Spain, and lately in Africa. He insisted much upon the confession Hannibal had made against his will, of his weakness, by asking peace. He adverted to them, that they were now upon the point of putting an end to the war and their labours : that the ruin and spoils of Carthage,

“ thage, and their return into their country, was A. R. 550.  
Ant. C.202.  
 “ now in their own hands ; ” And (a) all this he said with the air and tone of a conqueror.

Every thing being ready for the battle, and the Numidian cavalry on both sides having long skirmished, Hannibal gave orders for the elephants to move against the enemy. The Romans immediately made the trumpets sound, and at the same time raised such great cries, that the elephants, which advanced against the right of the Romans, turned back, and put the Moors and Numidians, that formed Hannibal's left, into disorder. Masinissa, seeing their confusion, easily put them entirely to the rout. The rest of the elephants advanced between the two armies into the plain, and fell upon the light-armed Romans, of which they crushed a great number to death ; notwithstanding the continual shower of darts discharged upon them from all sides. At length being terrified, some of them run through the spaces Scipio had prudently left, and others in their flight returned upon their own right wing pursued by the Roman horse, who with their spears drove them quite out of the field of Battle. Lælius took this instant for charging the Carthaginian cavalry, who turned about and fled full speed. He pursued them warmly, whilst Masinissa did the same on his side.

The army of the Carthaginians was uncovered on the right and left by its cavalry. The infantry then on both sides advanced slowly and in good order, except that which Hannibal had brought from Italy, which formed the third line, and continued in its first post. When they were near each other, the Romans raising great cries

(a) Cæsus hæc corpore, vultuque ita læto, ut vicisse jam crederes, dicebat.

A. R. 550.  
Æt. C. 202.

according to their custom, and striking their swords upon their shields, charged the enemy with vigour. On the side of the Carthaginians, the body of foreign troops that formed the front line, also raised great cries, but confused, and dissonant from each other, because they were all of different nations. As they could use neither swords nor javelins, and they fought hand to hand, the strangers at first had some advantage over the Romans by their agility and boldness, and wounded a great number. However, the latter having the superiority by their good order, and the nature of their arms, gained ground, supported by the second line who followed, and incessantly encouraged them to fight with valour; whereas the strangers being neither followed nor assisted by the Carthaginians, whose inaction on the contrary intimidated them, lost courage, gave way, and believing themselves openly abandoned by their own troops, fell in retiring upon their second line, and attacked it in order to open themselves a passage. The latter found themselves obliged to defend their lives courageously, so that the Carthaginians, attacked by the strangers, contrary to their expectation, saw they had two enemies to fight, their own troops, and the Romans. Quite out of their senses, and in a manner transported with fury, they made a great slaughter of both, and put the *Hastati* into disorder. Those who commanded the *Principes*, that is, the second line, having made their troops advance, rallied them without difficulty. The greatest part of the strangers and Carthaginians fell in this place, partly cut in pieces by one another, and partly by the Romans. Hannibal would not suffer those that fled to mingle with those who remained, lest full of terror as they were, and covered with wounds, they might induce disorder amongst those, who had received



no blow hitherto ; he even ordered the front rank to present their pikes, which obliged them to retire along the wings into the plain. A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

The space between the two armies being then covered with blood, and with the dead, and wounded, Scipio was in perplexity enough : for he did not know how to make his troops move in good order over that confused heap of arms and dead bodies, still bleeding, and lying upon each other. He ordered the wounded men to be carried behind the army ; the retreat to be sounded for the *Hastati*, who were pursuing the enemy ; posted them opposite to the centre of the enemy in expectation of a new charge. and made the *Principes* and *Triarii* advance on both wings.

When they were upon the same front with the *Hastati*, a new battle began between the two armies. The infantry alternately gave way, and returned to the charge with great courage and vigour. As number, resolution, and arms were equal on both sides, and they fought with such obstinacy that they fell in their posts rather than give way, the fate of the battle was long doubtful, and it could not be conjectured which side would remain masters of the field. Things being in this state, Lælius and Masinissa, after having pursued the enemy's cavalry a considerable time, returned very opportunely for attacking the infantry in the rear. This last charge decided the victory. A great number of the Carthaginians were killed upon the field of battle, where they were surrounded on all sides. Many of them having dispersed in the plains round about, were cut off by the Roman cavalry that occupied all the country. The Carthaginians left above twenty thousand dead upon the spot, as well of their own citizens as allies. Almost as many were taken, with an hundred and thirty ensigns and standards, and

T 2 eleven

A. R. 202. eleven elephants. The victors lost only fifteen  
 Aug. C. 550. hundred men. Thus ended this great action,  
 which very much contributed to render the Ro-  
 mans master of the world.

*Praise of*  
*Hannibal.*  
 Liv. xxx.  
 35. After the battle, Scipio caused the Carthaginians  
 who had escaped to be pursued, plundered their  
 camp, and then returned to his own. As to  
 Hannibal, he retreated without losing time, with  
 a small number of horse, and escaped to Adru-  
 metum, (a) after having tried both before and  
 during the battle all possible means for obtaining  
 the victory. He particularly shewed singular ad-  
 dress and consummate prudence in his order of  
 battle, and in the disposition of his troops. And  
 this praise he received from the mouth of Scipio  
 himself, and of all experienced officers.

Polyb. 15.  
 702. Polybius affirms the same of him, and expresses  
 himself as follows. Hannibal may be said on this  
 occasion to have done every thing that was possi-  
 ble, or could be expected from a General of so  
 great experience in the art of war, and of so just  
 a reputation for prudence and valour. He first  
 had an interview with Scipio, to endeavour to ter-  
 minate the war in his own person. This was not  
 dishonouring his former exploits: it was diffiding  
 in fortune, and putting himself upon his guard a-  
 gainst the uncertainty and caprice of war. In the  
 battle, he acted in such a manner, that being to  
 use the same arms as the Romans, he could not  
 have behaved better. The Roman order of battle  
 is very hard to break. With them, the army in  
 general, and every corps in particular, fight on  
 whatever side the enemy advances: because they

(a) Omnia & in prælio, & omniumque peritorum mili-  
 ante aciem, priusquam exce- tiæ, illam laudem adeptus, sin-  
 deret pugna, expertus; & gulari arte aciem illa die in-  
 confessione etiam Scipionis, struxisse. Liv.

are so drawn up, that the cohorts nearest the danger always face all together towards the side necessary. Besides which, their armour gives them abundance of confidence and boldness; the largeness of their shields, and the strength of their swords, contributing very much to make them firm in battle, and hard to be defeated. Hannibal however used all possible means for overcoming all these obstacles. He had drawn together a great number of elephants, and had placed them in the front of his army, to disorder and break the battle of the Romans. By posting the mercenary strangers in the front line, and the Carthaginians behind them, his first view was to tire the enemy and blunt their swords in effect of the slaughter. Besides which, by placing the Carthaginians between two lines, he reduced them to the necessity of fighting, according to Homer's maxim. And lastly, he had placed at a certain distance the bravest and firmest of his troops, in order that seeing the event at distance, and being entirely fresh, they might, when the favourable moment should arrive, fall with valour upon the enemy. If this hitherto invincible Hero, after having done all that was possible in the case, was however overcome, he is not to be reproached on that account. Fortune sometimes opposes the designs of Great men; besides, it not seldom happens, that an able General is defeated by one more able than himself.

*Iliad. Lib.  
iv. v. 297.*

I thought it proper to repeat this reflection from Polybius, upon the ability which Hannibal shewed in the disposition of his army at the battle of Zama. I leave it to persons of more skill in art of war to determine of this; for the thing has some difficulty: for my part I only repeat the opinions of authors, without pretending to vouch for them.



## S E C T. IV.

*Hannibal returns to Carthage. Scipio prepares to besiege Carthage. Ambassadors from Carthage come to him to ask peace. Numidians defeated. Conditions of peace proposed by Scipio to the Carthaginians. Gisgo opposes it. Hannibal silences him. The fleet of Claudius Nero meets with a great storm. Scipio's victory declared at Rome occasions great joy there. Dispute concerning the distribution of the provinces. The Senate first gives Philip's ambassadors audience, and then those of Carthage. Peace granted to the Carthaginians. Prisoners restored to the Carthaginians without ransom. The Ambassadors return to Carthage. Five hundred ships burnt out at sea. Deserters punished. Hannibal laughs in the Senate whilst the rest cry. Scipio gives Masinissa the kingdom of Syphax. Reflection of Polybius upon the governments of Carthage and Rome at the time of the second Punic war. Scipio returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. He is honoured with the surname of Africanus.*

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.  
*Hannibal*  
*returns to*  
*Carthage.*  
Liv. xxx.  
35.

**H**Annibal after the loss of the battle had retired, as I have said, to Adrumettum. The Senate having sent for him, he repaired to Carthage, in which he had not been during thirty-six years, from the time he quitted it very young. He owned in the full Senate, that he had been entirely defeated, that the battle which had lately been fought absolutely terminated the war, and that Carthage had no longer any safety to hope, but by obtaining peace from the Romans.

*Scipio pre-*  
*pared to*  
*besiege*  
*Carthage.*  
Liv. xxx.  
36.

As to Scipio, he caused the spoils and plunder, which were very considerable, to be carried on board his ships, and at his return to the sea side, he

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 262.

he was informed there, that P. Lentulus was arrived at the Roman camp near Utica with fifty large ships, and an hundred transports laden with all kinds of provisions. Believing that it was necessary not to give the Carthaginians time to recover from their consternation, but to spread terror on all sides at the same time, and in the midst of the capital, after having sent Lælius to Rome to carry the news of his victory, he ordered Cn. Octavius to march the legions by land to the gates of Carthage, and himself with his old fleet, and that which Lentulus had lately brought, set out from his camp before Utica, and advanced to the port of Carthage.

He was not far from it, when he perceived a Carthaginian galley, adorned with fillets and branches of olive, that came out to meet him. It had on board ten ambassadors, all principal persons of the city, who, in consequence of the advice which Hannibal had given the Senate, had been sent to demand peace. They approached the poop of Scipio's ship, and presenting him the branches of olive as suppliants, they implored his mercy and clemency. He gave them no other answer, but that they might come to him at Tunis, where he was going to incamp. As to himself, after having curiously examined the situation of Carthage, less to make any use of it in the present occasion, than to humble his enemies, he went back to Utica, whither he also made Octavius return.

*The ambassadors of Carthage come to him to ask peace.*

Having set out from thence for Tunis, he was informed on his way, that Vermina the son of Syphax was coming to the aid of the Carthaginians with an army consisting of more horse than foot. He immediately sent part of his legions with all his cavalry against those Numidians. This detachment attacked them the first day of the *Satur-*

*Numidians defeated.*

A. R. 550.  
Ann. C. 202.

*nalia*, and entirely defeated them. The Roman horse having surrounded them on all sides, cut off even the way for flight, killed fifteen thousand upon the spot, took twelve hundred, with fifteen hundred Numidian horse, and sixty-two ensigns. Vermina escaped in the midst of the tumult with a small number of his followers.

Conditions  
of peace  
proposed by  
Scipio to  
the Car-  
thagini-  
ans.  
Liv. xxx.  
37.  
Polyb. xv.  
705.

Scipio in the mean time was arrived at Tunis, and incamped in the same post he had occupied before. Though they appeared before him in a more humbled and mournful condition than before, as their present condition required, he however expressed less compassion for them, not having yet forgot their perfidy. He assembled his council. At first all who composed it, through just indignation, were for the ruin of Carthage. But afterwards, reflecting upon the importance of such a design, and the length of time that the siege of so great and well fortified a city would take up; and Scipio himself fearing that a successor might come to deprive him at a small expence of service of the honour of terminating a war, which had cost him so many fatigues and dangers, the whole council inclined to peace.

The next day he ordered the ambassadors to attend; and, after having reproached them with their breach of faith and perfidy in the sharpest terms, and exhorted them to confess at length after so many defeats, which ought to be useful lessons for them, that there were gods, who avenged the infraction of treaties, and the violation of oaths, he declared to them the conditions upon which he consented to grant them peace: “ That they  
“ should retain their laws and liberty. That they  
“ should possess in Africa the same cities and ex-  
“ tent of country as they had before the war.  
“ That from thenceforth no hostilities should be  
“ committed. That they should give up to the  
“ Roman



“ Romans all prisoners and deserters. That they  
 “ should deliver up all their great ships, except  
 “ ten galleys, and all the managed elephants they  
 “ had, and should tame no more for the future.  
 “ That they should not make war either in Afri-  
 “ ca, or elsewhere, without the consent of the  
 “ Roman People. That they should restore to  
 “ Masinissa the houses, lands, cities, and other  
 “ estates, which had belonged to him or his an-  
 “ cestors throughout all the extent of his country,  
 “ that should be assigned them. That they should  
 “ supply the Roman army with provisions for  
 “ three months; that they should furnish their  
 “ pay, till their deputies returned from Rome.  
 “ That in fifty years they should pay the Romans  
 “ \* ten thousand talents of silver, divided into  
 “ equal payments, that is two hundred talents  
 “ every year. That for security of their faith,  
 “ they should give an hundred hostages, which  
 “ the Consul should choose out of the youth from  
 “ fourteen to thirty years of age. That the truce  
 “ they asked should be granted them, on condi-  
 “ tion, that the barks they had surprized during  
 “ the first truce should be restored to the Romans,  
 “ with all that was in them when taken. That  
 “ without this restitution, they must not expect  
 “ either truce or peace.”

The ambassadors having received this answer, set out directly for Carthage, and reported it to the Senate and People. Whilst they were speaking in the assembly of the People, Gisgo, a Carthaginian Senator, having began a discourse to dissuade his fellow-citizens from accepting these conditions, which appeared too hard, and being hearkened to by a multitude equally incapable of making war,

*Gisgo opposes these conditions, and is silenced by Hannibal.*  
 Polyb. xv. 706.  
 Liv. xxx. 37.

\* Ten thousand Attick talents amounted to about fifteen thousand pounds. These which were Euboick talents, were something less,

or

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

or of bearing peace, Hannibal, enraged that such discourses should be held, and attention had to them, in the like conjunctures, took Gisgo by the arm, and made him come down from the tribunal roughly enough. So violent a proceeding, and so repugnant to the taste of a free city as Carthage was, occasioned an universal murmur. Hannibal was concerned at it, and immediately excused himself. *Having left this city at nine years of age, said he, and not having returned till after an absence of six and thirty years; I have had time to learn the trade of war, and flatter myself that I have succeeded tolerably in doing so. As to your laws and customs, you ought not to be surprized, that I am ignorant of them; and it is from you that I desire to learn them.* This kind of satisfaction having appeased the People, and stopt the murmur, he continued as follows. *It was my zeal for the good of the public, that made me commit the fault that offends you. For I cannot recover my astonishment on seeing that a Carthaginian, who knows all that has passed on our side in respect to the Roman People, and also that in effect of their last victory they are become absolute masters of our fate, should not thank the gods, that they treat us so favourable.* He then went on to shew particularly, of what importance the union of the Senate was, and of not giving room by divided \* opinions for carrying an affair of that nature before the People.

This advice seemed very wise, and entirely for the interest of the Commonwealth in the deplorable extremities and dangers, to which it was now exposed. It was unanimously resolved in consequence to accept the peace upon the conditions.

\* When opinions were divided in the Senate, the decision of the affair in question devolved to the People; but only in that case.

proposed ; and the Senate immediately nominated ambassadors to conclude it. A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

What embarrassed them most, was the previous restitution demanded by the Romans. For they had only the vessels which had been taken in their keeping, and it was not easy to find the effects ; those who had appropriated them to themselves industriously concealing them. It was concluded that they should begin by restoring the ships, that the crews should be found and set at liberty. That as to the other effects, the value Scipio should think proper to set upon them, should be paid.

When the deputies were returned to Scipio the Quæstors had orders to fix from their accounts the price of all that had belonged to the Commonwealth on board of those ships ; and private persons to declare the value of their effects ; and for the whole the Carthaginians were made to pay down twenty five thousand pounds of silver in weight. When this was done, a truce for three months, was granted them, upon condition that, as long as it subsisted, they should send no ambassadors to any part except Rome ; and if any should come to them from any nation whatsoever, that they should not dismiss them, till they had first informed the Roman General, both from what powers they were sent, and what demands they were instructed to make. Scipio made L. Veturius Philo, M. Marcius Ralla, and L. Scipio his brother set out for Rome with the Carthaginian deputies.

The convoys, that came about this time from Sicily and Sardinia, made the price of provisions so low, that the merchants let the captains of the galleys have their corn for the freight.

Rome had taken the alarm on the first rumour of the breaking up of the negotiations with the Carthaginians, and the renewing of the war ; and *Cl. Nero's fleet is dispersed by a great storm*  
Liv. xxx.  
Tib. 38, 39.



A. R. 560.  
 Ant. C. 202.

Tib. Claudius Nero, one of the Consuls was ordered to go with his fleet immediately to Sicily, and from thence to Africa ; and his colleague M. Servilius to remain near Rome, till it should be exactly known in what condition affairs were in Africa. The Consul Claudius acted with abundance of slowness in the preparations and departure of the fleet, in disgust for the Senate's having made Scipio, preferably to himself master of the conditions, on which the peace was to be concluded. Having at length set sail, he met with a violent storm, which wrecked several of his ships, and did the rest great damage. Winter overtaking him at Carali's (*now Cagliari*) in Sardinia where he was employed in refitting them, and the time of his magistracy being elapsed, he was reduced to the condition of a private person, and brought back his fleet without glory to the Tiber.

The news  
 of Scipio's  
 victory oc-  
 casioned  
 great joy  
 at Rome.  
 Liv. xxx.  
 40.

The deputies, whom Scipio had sent from Africa to Rome being arrived with those of the Carthaginians, the Senate assembled in the temple of Bellona. L. Veturius Philo then gave an account, to the exceeding satisfaction of the whole assembly, in what manner the Carthaginians had lost a battle near their capital, that left them no resource, and which finally terminated a war, that had occasioned so many calamities, in favour of the Romans. Though the advantage gained over Vermina, the Son of Syphax, was but a slight increase of good fortune ; he did not omit to mention it. He was then ordered to ascend the tribunal of harangues, and to impart such grateful news to the People. The citizens gave themselves up to the excess of their joy, and after having congratulated each other upon such great success, dispersed into all the temples to thank the gods for it, according to a decree for public thanksgivings during three days.

The

The Deputies from the Carthaginians, and those from King Philip, for some from that Prince were come to Rome, having demanded audience of the Senate, they were answered, that the new Consuls should give it them.

A. R. 550.  
Ant. C. 202.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.

Before the provinces of the Consuls were fixed, the ambassadors of Macedonia and those of Carthage had audience, and it was foreseen, that the war being terminated on one side, was upon the point of beginning on another. The Consul Lentulus was infinitely ardent to have Africa for his province. He rightly judged, that if the war continued, the victory would cost him little ; and that in case of peace, it would be highly for his glory to have put an end during his Consulship to so important a war. Accordingly he desired that no affair should be brought on, till the command in Africa was previously given to him ; for his colleague did not aspire at it in the least, being a person of reason and moderation ; besides which, he conceived it no less vain than unjust to dispute that honour with Scipio.

*Dispute concerning the distribution of the provinces.*  
Liv. xxx.  
40.

The Tribunes of the People, Q. Minucius Thermus and Manius Acilius Glabrio, represented, “ That Cn. Cornelius was making an attempt in “ which Tib. Claudius had already miscarried the “ year before ; as, when the Senate had referred “ the Consul’s demand to the People’s determination, the whole thirty five Tribes had given “ Scipio the preference.” The affair having been debated with abundance of warmth, both in the Senate, and before the People, the decision of it was referred to the Senate. The Senators accordingly, after having taking an oath, as had been agreed

A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.

agreed on, decreed that one of the Consuls, according as they should agree between themselves, should remain in Italy, whilst the other should command a fleet of fifty sail. That he to whom the fleet should fall by lot, should go to Sicily, and from thence to Africa, if peace were not concluded with the Carthaginians. That in that case, the Consul should act by sea, and Scipio by land with the same authority as before. That if the Carthaginians accepted the conditions of peace proposed to them, the Tribunes should make the People determine, whether the Consul, or Scipio, should make the peace, and bring back the victorious army to Italy; if that should be deemed proper. That if that honour should be conferred upon Scipio, the Consul should not go from Sicily to Africa. P. Scipio was continued in the command of the armies, at the head of which he then was in Africa.

All these resolutions of the Senate, full of wisdom and equity, were a good lesson, and a tacit reprimand for the Consul Lentulus, which his mean jealousy had justly drawn upon him. Through a blind desire of glory, he was for depriving Scipio of an honour, which it was evident the People allotted to him out of justice and gratitude, for all the labours and dangers he had undergone in this war. Lentulus's colleague acted much more wisely, who perceived, (a) that such an attempt was contrary both to equity and prudence, as it could not succeed. Jealousy a base vice, unworthy of a man of honour, deserves to be covered with shame, and exposed to universal contempt.

*The Senate  
first give  
audience  
to Philip's  
ambassa-  
dors.*

Liv. xxx.  
42.

After the Senate had fixed all that related to the provinces as well of the Consuls as of the other Gene-

(a) Qui gloriæ ejus certamen cum Scipione, præterbat. *Liv.*  
quam quòd iniquum esset,

rals,



rals, their next care was to give audience to the am-  
bassadors of Philip, and those of the Carthaginians.

A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.

Those of Philip were introduced first to the Senate. Their discourse consisted of three heads. They began by vindicating their master in respect to the hostilities, the ambassadors sent from Rome to that Prince, had accused him of having committed against the allies of the Commonwealth. In the second place, they themselves complained of the allies of the Roman People ; but much more sharply of M. Aurelius, one of the three ambassadors, that had been sent to him. For they reproached him, that without regard to his character, he had continued in Greece to raise soldiers there ; that he had made war against him contrary to the treaty, and that he had often come to blows with his lieutenants. And lastly they demanded that Sopater, with the Macedonian soldiers he had commanded, and who being in the army and pay of Hannibal, had been made prisoners by the Romans, should be restored to Philip.

M. Furius, whom Aurelius had sent expressly from Macedonia to defend him, replied to these accusations ; “ that Aurelius had been left in the  
“ country to prevent the allies of the Common-  
“ wealth, perpetually harrassed by Philip, from  
“ being reduced at length to go over to him.  
“ That for the rest, he had not quitted the lands  
“ of the allies, and that he had confined himself  
“ to preventing the King’s troops from making  
“ incursions into them with impunity. That  
“ Sopater, one of the principal persons of the  
“ Macedonian court, and even the King’s rela-  
“ tion, had been sent to Africa with four thou-  
“ sand men, and money, to the aid of Hannibal  
“ and the Carthaginians.”

After Furius had done speaking, the Macedonians were asked what they had to reply ; and as  
their

A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.

their answers seemed not a little confused, they were stopt short, and the Senate declared : “ That it  
 “ was easy to see, that the King desired war ; and  
 “ that if he did not change his conduct, he would  
 “ soon have what he sought. That he had doubly  
 “ violated the treaty : first in distressing the allies  
 “ of the Roman People, and making his troops  
 “ ravage their country ; and next, by sending aids  
 “ of men and money, to the enemies of the Com-  
 “ monwealth. That Scipio had done nothing of  
 “ which he could reasonably complain, when he  
 “ put soldiers into irons, and treated them as ene-  
 “ mies, whom he had taken in the act of fight-  
 “ ing against the Roman People. That as to  
 “ what regarded Aurelius, the Senate and People  
 “ highly approved him for having assisted the al-  
 “ lies of the Commonwealth in arms, as the faith  
 “ of a treaty did not suffice to protect them against  
 “ the violence of Philip.”

*The Car-  
 thaginian  
 Ambassa-  
 dors have  
 audience.*

The Macedonians having been dismissed with so menacing an answer, the Carthaginians were called in. As soon as their advanced age was observed, and that they were the principal persons of Carthage, both by their birth, and employments, it was believed, that the Carthaginians really intended peace. The most considerable of them was Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, a grave Senator, who had always recommended peace to his fellow citizens, and on all occasions had strongly declared against the Barcinian faction. This authorized him the more to impute the crime of this war to the avidity of a small number of particulars, and to acquit the public council of Carthage of it. He made a very good Speech, in which he excused the Carthaginians in respect to some points, and condemned them for others, to avoid giving offence by shameless denying facts evidently true ; and he concluded with exhorting the Senate  
 to

to make a moderate use of their advantages. He informed them, “ That if the Carthaginians had followed his, and Hanno’s counsels, they might have dictated the conditions of peace themselves ; whereas they were now reduced to accept of such as should be imposed upon them. That (a) the gods seldom bestowed on men at the same time good fortune and right reason. That what rendered the Roman People invincible was, their knowing in prosperity how to make use of prudence, and to hearken to the dictates of reason. That for the rest, it would be amazing for them to act otherwise. That those to whom good successes were new, on such occasions not being masters of themselves, give themselves up to immoderate and insolent joy, because they are not accustomed to them. But that the Romans were so habituated to conquering, that they were become almost insensible to the pleasure of victory ; and that they owed the increase of their dominion much more to the clemency, with which they used the vanquished, than to their victories themselves.” The other Ambassadors spoke in a tone more humble, and more proper to move compassion. “ They deplored the fate of their country, observing from what a high degree of power and greatness it had fallen into an abyss of misery. That the Carthaginians, after having carried their conquests so far, retained only the walls of Carthage. That inclosed within

(a) Rarò simul hominibus nova bona fortuna sit, impotentibus lætitiæ insanire. Populo Romano usitata, ac prope jam obsoleta ex victoria gaudia esse, ac plus penè parcendo victis, quàm vincendo, imperium auxisse. *Liv*,  
bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari. Populum Romanum eo invictum esse, quòd in secundis rebus sapere & consulere meminerit. Et hercule mirandum fuisse, si aliter facerent. Ex insolentia, quibus



A. R. 541. " them, they had no longer any thing, either by  
 Ann. C. 201. " sea or land, that obeyed them. And that they  
 " retained their city itself, and their household  
 " gods, only, as the Roman People should  
 " vouchsafe not to carry their rigour to the last  
 " extremities." The Senators seemed to be  
 touched with compassion, when one of them, in-  
 censed by the perfidy of which the Carthaginians  
 had given a quite recent instance, " asked the  
 " Ambassadors, by what gods they would swear  
 " to observe the treaty of peace, after having de-  
 " ceived those, who had been witnesses of their  
 " first oath"? *The same gods*, replied Asdrubal,  
*who have so severely punished their former perjuries.*

App. Bell. Appian puts a very fine harangue into the mouth  
 Pen. 27— of this Asdrubal Hædus, but addresses it to Sci-  
 29. pio. He also repeats that of the Consul Cn. Len-  
 tulus in the Senate.

Peace All the Roman Senators were inclined to peace.  
 granted to But the Consul Lentulus, who had the command  
 the Car- of the fleet, opposed the decree, which they were  
 thaginians upon the point of passing in that disposition. Up-  
 Liv. xxx. on this the Tribunes Man. Acilius and Q. Minu-  
 43. cius asked the People assembled, " Whether it  
 " was their will that a peace should be made with  
 " the Carthaginians, and by whom they desired it  
 " should be made; and whether the army should  
 " be brought back from Africa?" All the Tribes  
 declared for peace, and charged Scipio with the  
 care of concluding it, and of leading back the  
 troops into Italy. In consequence of this resolu-  
 tion of the People, the Senate decreed, that Sci-  
 pio, with a council of ten commissioners, should  
 make peace with the Carthaginians on such condi-  
 tions as he should judge proper.

Prisoners referred to The Ambassadors of Carthage, after having  
 the Car- thanked the Senate, demanded their permission to  
 thaginians enter the city, and to confer with their fellow-ci-  
 without tizens  
 transj. citizens

tizens confined in the prisons of the Commonwealth. They represented, “ that there were  
 “ amongst them several of the most considerable  
 “ persons of Carthage, to whom they were bound  
 “ both by blood and friendship : and that there  
 “ were others, whom their relations had desired  
 “ them to see. After having visited them, they  
 asked another favour ; which was, to ransom such  
 of those prisoners as they should think fit. The  
 names of them were asked. They were about two  
 hundred, whom the Senate caused to be carried to  
 Africa by the Roman commissioners, who were  
 ordered to put them into the hands of Scipio, di-  
 recting that General to restore them to the Cartha-  
 ginians without ransom, as soon as the peace should  
 be concluded.

The Ambassadors of Carthage set out from Rome, and being returned to Scipio made a peace upon the conditions mentioned above. They delivered up to him their ships of war, and elephants, with the slaves, Roman deserters, and four thousand prisoners, amongst whom was one Senator, named Q. Terentius Culeo. Scipio caused the ships to be carried out to sea, where they were burnt. They were in all, according to some authors, five hundred. The sight of this fire, kindled so near Carthage, occasioned as much grief to that city, as the burning of Carthage itself would have done. The deserters were punished more severely than the slaves : for the heads of all those who were Latines were cut off, and the Romans were crucified.

It was forty years since the last peace had been made with the Carthaginians, in the Consulship of Q. Lutatius and Aulus Manlius. The war had broke out again three and twenty years after, in that of P. Cornelius and Tib. Sempronius. It was

A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.

terminated \* the seventeenth year, during the Consulship of Cn. Cornelius and P. Ælius Pætus. It was often said afterwards to Scipio, that if he had not terminated the war with the total destruction of Carthage, it was to be imputed to the avidity and ambition, first of Tib. Claudius, and next of Cn. Cornelius, who had both caballed to supplant him, and to have the honour of putting an end to this war.

*Hannibal  
laughs,  
whilst  
others cry.  
Liv. ibid.*

When they came to the first payment of the tribute laid on them in consequence of the treaty, as the funds of the State were exhausted by the expences of so long a war, the difficulty of raising that sum gave the Senate great grief, and many could not refrain from tears. It is said, that Hannibal upon this occasion fell a laughing. Asdrubal Hædus warmly reproaching him for insulting the public affliction in that manner, He, who had been the cause of it: *If, said he, in return, my heart could be seen, and its sentiments discovered, as what passes in my face may, it would presently be perceived that the laugh with which I am reproached, is not the effect of joy, but of the trouble and emotion, which the public misfortunes give me. And, after all, is this laugh more unseasonable than the tears I see you shed? It was when our arms were taken from us, our ships burnt, and all wars abroad prohibited; it was then you should have cried: for that was the stroke, the mortal wound, that laid us low. But we do not feel the calamities of the public, till they come to affect us personally; and what grieves and afflicts us most, is the loss of our money. Accordingly, when vanquished Carthage was stript of her spoils, when she was left without arms and defence, in the midst of so many powerful and armed States of Africa, not one of you shed a single tear, or*

\* The seventeenth year was elapsed, and the eighteenth begun.



vented a single sigh. And now, because you are each of you to contribute to the payment of the tribute, you are as much dejected, as if all were utterly lost. Ah! I am afraid, that what extorts so many tears from you now, will soon be the least of your misfortunes.

*A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.*

Scipio in the mean time made preparations for his departure. He assembled his troops, and publicly declared, that he annexed to the dominions Masinissa inherited from his forefathers, Cirta, and the other cities and territories of Syphax, of which the Romans had made themselves masters, and of which he made him a present in their name. He ordered Cn. Octavius to carry the fleet to Sicily, and to leave the command of it to the Consul Cn. Cornelius. He, lastly, sent orders to the Carthaginians to send new deputies to Rome, in order to the ratification of the treaty by the Senate and People, which he had lately concluded with them in concert with the ten commissioners.

*Scipio gives Masinissa the kingdom of Syphax.*

I shall conclude what relates to the second Punic war with a reflection from Polybius, which well describes the different situation of the two rival Commonwealths of which we are speaking.

In the beginning of the second Punic war and of Hannibal's time, Carthage may be said in some sense to be on the decline. Her youth, prime and vigour, were already faded. She had begun to fall from her former elevation, and inclined towards her ruin: whereas Rome was at that time in the flower and vigour of life, and made great advances towards the conquest of the Universe.

*Reflection upon the governments of Carthage and Rome, in the time of the second Punic war.  
Polyb. vi.*

The reason Polybius gives for the decline of the one, and the growth of the other, is deduced from the different manner, in which those two Republicks were then governed.

*493, 494.*

A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.

With the Carthaginians, the People had engrossed the principal authority in the public affairs. The counsel of the elders and magistrates was no longer regarded : every thing was carried by cabal and intrigue. Not to mention what the faction opposite to Hannibal did against him during the whole time of his command ; the single fact of the Roman vessels taken during a truce ; a breach of faith in which the People forced the Senate to take part and lend their name, is a very clear proof of what Polybius says in this place.

On the contrary, this was the time at Rome when the Senate, that body of wise men, had more credit than ever, and when the elders were heard and considered as oracles. Every body knows, how jealous the Roman People were of their authority. We have however seen that a century, consisting of the youth, to whose lot it had fallen to give its suffrage first, which was usually followed by the same vote of all the rest, having nominated two Consuls, upon the single remonstrance of Fabius, departed from the choice it had made, and declared others.

From this difference of government Polybius concludes, that a people guided by the prudence of the old and experienced, must necessarily have the advantage of a State governed by the rash opinions of the multitude. Rome, in effect, governed by the wise counsels of the Senate, had at length the upperhand in the gross of the war, though she had in particular had the disadvantage in several battles ; and she established her power and greatness upon the ruins of her rival.

It was by these and other the like means, as we may observe in the course of our history, that Providence, which presides over States and Kingdoms, disposes events, fixes their duration, and inspires those who govern them, with prudence,  
courage,

courage, and all the other qualities necessary to government: it was thus, I say, that at a distance, and by successive continual increases, it prepared Rome for that greatness and power it had allotted her from all eternity. Rome (a) rightly perceived, that she was indebted for all her successes to a superior cause, that protected her in a peculiar manner, and which she confesses on a thousand occasions: but she had the misfortune not to know it, and to lavish the marks of her gratitude upon deaf and impotent divinities.

The presence of Scipio was no longer necessary in Africa. After having procured his country so glorious a peace, he embarked his troops, and went to Lilybæum in Sicily. From thence he made the greatest part of his army set out on board the galleys for Rome directly. Livy gives us reason to think, that he landed at Rhegium. For that historian tells us, that Scipio crossed the country of Italy through two rows of people, who flocked from all parts, in order to have the satisfaction of seeing their deliverer, to whose valour and good fortune they believed themselves indebted for the repose, tranquility, and all the other advantages they were going to enjoy in effect of the peace. When he arrived at Rome in the midst of this public joy, he entered it in triumph with greater pomp and magnificence than had ever been seen. King Syphax, and several Lords of his court, were led before his chariot. The Senator Q. Terentius Culeo, who had been re-

A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.

*Scipio re-  
turns to  
Rome, and  
receives  
the honour  
of a tri-  
umph.  
Liv. xxx.  
45.*

(a) Hujus beneficii gratiam, Judices fortuna populi Romani, & vestra felicitas, & dii immortales sibi deberi putant. Nec verò quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nisi qui nullam majestatem esse ducit numenve

divinum.—Ea vis (divina) sæpe incredibiles huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit. Non est humano consilio, ne mediocri quidem, Judices, deorum immortalium curâ, res illa perfecta. *Cic. pro Mil.* 83, & 85.



A. R. 551.  
Ant. C. 201.

leased from bondage, followed the same chariot with his head covered with a kind of hat, which was a mark of the liberty he had recovered. Syphax did not long survive his shame, and died in prison. Scipio put a very large sum into the public treasury, and gave about thirteen pence to each of his soldiers out of the spoils of the enemy. He was honoured with the glorious surname of Africanus, which he retained ever after, and which seemed to perpetuate the remembrance of his triumph. Scipio was the first, who assumed the name of the nation he had conquered. In process of time other Romans, by his example, rendered their families illustrious by the like titles, but which they had not deserved by such glorious victories.







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BOOK THE TWENTY FIRST.

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THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

**T**HIS book includes the history of four years ; 552, 553, 554, and 555. It contains principally the second war with Philip, which is terminated by the victory gained by Quintius Flaminius at Cynoscephalæ, and some expeditions in Spain and Cisalpine Gaul.

S E C T. I.

*War of Macedonia. Epochs of the wars of the Romans with Philip. Various complaints to the Romans against Philip. The People at first oppose this war. The Consul by the Senate's advice brings over the People, and war was declared against Philip. Ambassadors from Ptolomy. Insurrection of Gaul excited by Amilcar. Ambassadors sent to Carthage, and Masinissa. Ambassadors from Vermina, the son of Syphax, to the Romans. Money taken out of the temple of Proserpina. Remonstrance of several private persons to the Senate, concerning what is due to them from the Commonwealth. The Consul Sulpicius arrives in Macedonia. Centho plunders the city of Chalcis. Philip besieges Athens, ineffectually. He besieges it a second time, with as little success, and lays*



*lays waste all Attica. The Romans ravage the frontiers of Macedonia. Some Kings bordering upon Macedonia join the Consul. Preparations of Philip. Assembly of the Ætolians, to which Philip, the Athenians, and Romans send Ambassadors. The assembly separates without concluding any thing. The Consul enters Macedonia. Rencounter of two parties. Various actions of small importance between the two armies. Philip has some advantage over the Roman foragers. He is afterwards defeated himself and obliged to fly. Sulpicius returns to Apollonia. The Ætolians declare for the Romans. Decrees of the Athenians against Philip. An ovation is granted Lentulus for his successes in Spain. L. Furius defeats the army of the Gauls, who besiege Cremona. The Consul Aurelius's jealousy of Furius. The latter returns to Rome and demands a triumph. It is granted him after long debates. P. Scipio celebrates games. His soldiers are rewarded. Army of Spaniards defeated. Return of the Consul Aurelius to Rome. New Consuls appointed. Combats of gladiators.*

*War of  
Macedo-  
nia.*

*Liv. xxxi.  
1.*

**T**HE SECOND Punic war, which had lately been terminated so gloriously for the Romans, was almost immediately followed by one with the Macedonians. The latter was not in the least comparable to the first, either in respect to the merit of the General, the valour of the troops, the importance of events, or the greatness of dangers. But it was in some sense more illustrious in effect of the glory of the antient Kings of Macedonia, of the lustre of the family of the Prince actually upon the throne, and the conquests of that nation, who had formerly subjected by their arms great part of Europe, and a much greater of Asia.

For the rest the war with Philip had begun almost ten years before, in the 541st year of Rome, when Rome made an alliance with the Ætolians. The beginning of it may even be dated three years earlier. And this had been terminated three years before the end of the second Punic war. The Romans had afterwards many subjects of discontent from Philip King of Macedonia, as well because he had ill observed the conditions of the peace concluded with the Ætolians and the other allies, as because he had very lately sent aids of men and money to Hannibal in Africa. Accordingly when they saw themselves unengaged and tranquil, after the peace they had made with the Carthaginians, various complaints, which were brought to Rome from different quarters against Philip, inclined them to renew the war against that Prince.

P. SULPICIUS GALBA II.

C. AURELIUS COTTA.

A. R. 552.

Ant. C. 200.

It was under these Consuls, that the war against Macedonia began.. Many events had made way for it at a distance.

Ptolomy Philopator King of Egypt, had left at his death one son only five years old, called Ptolomy Epiphanes. Philip, and Antiochus King of Syria, entered into a criminal league to invade his dominions. The court of Egypt, in the danger of their young King from the joining of the two Princes against him, had recourse to the Romans to implore their protection, and offered them the guardianship of the King, and the regency of his dominions during his minority, assuring them that the late King had so ordered it at his death.

*Beginning of the war of Macedonia.*

*Various complaints brought to the Ro-*

*man: ..*

*gainst Philip.*

*Polyb. xvi.*

*6. & Le-*

*gat. 4.*

*Justin.*

*xxx. 2, 3.*

*Val. Max.*

*vi. 6.*

The

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.  
Liv. xxxi.  
1, 2.

The troops of Philip actually ravaged Attica, and had carried off considerable plunder : which induced the inhabitants to have recourse to the Romans. The Ambassadors of the Rhodians and King Attalus joined those of Athens, to complain also of the enterprizes of the two Kings, and to give the Romans advice, that Philip, either by himself, or his deputies, solicited many cities of Asia to take arms, and that he had undoubtedly some great design in his thoughts.

The Romans, on the demand of the Ambassadors of Egypt, did not hesitate to accept the guardianship of the young Prince ; and in consequence had nominated three deputies, who were ordered to notify it to the two Kings, and to inform them, not to disquiet the dominions of their pupil : that otherwise they should be obliged to declare war upon them. The other complaints, which as I have said, they received almost at the same time, hastened the departure of the three Ambassadors. Every body must perceive, that it was making a noble use of their power to declare so generously for an injured King, to whom they were guardians. (a) And this constituted part of the glory of the Senate and People of Rome, who were the refuge of distressed Kings and States. The ambition of the Magistrates and Generals was to render themselves the defenders of the provinces and allies by their equity and public faith. Accordingly, in these happy times, the Roman empire was considered as the refuge and asylum of the whole universe, where oppressed nations were sure

(a) Regum, populorum, nationum Portus erat & refugium Senatus. Nostri autem magistratus imperatoresque ex hac una re maximam laudem capere studebant, si provincias, si socios æquitate & fide defenderent. Itaque illud patrocinium orbis terræ veriùs, quàm imperium, poterat nominari. *Cic. de Off.* I. 26, 27.



of finding a ready and powerful protection against injustice and violence. But things took a very different turn in the sequel. A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

The Senate, after having answered all the Ambassadors favourably, made M. Valerius Lævinus, who had already acted against Philip, set out, and directed him in the quality of Proprætor, to approach Macedonia with a fleet, to examine things nearer, and to be in a condition to aid the allies immediately.

In the mean time the Senate deliberated seriously Liv. xxxi. upon what they should resolve. At the instant 5. the Senate was assembled to examine this important affair, a second embassy arrived from the Athenians, which declared, that Philip was upon the point of entering Attica in person, and that he would infallibly make himself master of Athens, if a speedy aid were not sent them. Letters were also received from Lævinus the Proprætor, and Aurelius his Lieutenant, by which they were advised, that every thing was to be feared from Philip; that the danger was very pressing, and that there was no time to be lost.

Upon these news, the Senate believed it indispensibly necessary to declare war against Philip. The Consul Sulpicius, to whom the province of Macedonia had fallen by lot, proposed it to the People. It was at first rejected by almost all the centuries. The citizens, who had just quitted a war, which had caused them so much pains and dangers, were of themselves extremely averse to it; which reluctance was much augmented by the seditious discourses of Q. Bæbius. He was one of the Tribunes of the People, who, reviving the antient custom of his predecessors for recommending themselves to the multitude by declaring against the Senators, accused them of expressly fomenting war upon war to continue the people under *The People at first oppose the declaration of war against Philip.*  
Liv. xxxi.  
6.

A. R. 552.  
A.D. C. 200.

der perpetual oppression, and to give them no rest. The Senators suffered so calumnious and unjust a reproach with abundance of pain: they vented their resentments in the warmest manner against the Tribune in the Senate itself, and strongly exhorted the Consul to repair a second time to the People, to reproach them highly with their indolence for the public good, and to make them sensible, how shameful it would be for them, and how injurious to the State, if in the present conjuncture they deferred to declare war against Philip.

The Consul, having summoned the assembly in the field of Mars, before the centuries proceeded to give their suffrages, spoke to them as follows. *You seemed not to know, Romans, that the question at present is not to deliberate, whether we are to make war or peace; for Philip, in preparing to make a rude war upon you, does not leave that at your choice: but to consider, whether your legions are to be transported into Macedonia, or to wait till the enemy brings his troops to Italy. What difference there is between these two resolutions you certainly must know from your own experience in the last war with the Carthaginians. For who doubts, but if, as soon as the besieged Saguntines had recourse to us, we had been expeditious in giving them aid, as our fathers had before acted in respect to the Mamertines, we had turned the whole weight of the war against Spain, which our neglect drew into Italy, where it wanted but very little of entirely destroying us. We acted more wisely in respect to the same Philip, when he engaged by a treaty made with Hannibal to come to Italy, and it is evident, that it was in effect of making Lævinus set out immediately with a fleet to attack him in his own country, that we kept him in Macedonia. What we then did, whilst we had Hannibal in the heart of Italy, do we hesitate to do now, when that formidable enemy is driven out of Italy, and the*  
Car-

*Carthaginians are irrecoverably overcome? If we suffer Philip, by making himself master of Athens, to make trial of our slowness, as Hannibal did in taking Saguntum by storm, we shall see him arrive in Italy, not at the end of five months, as Hannibal did after the taking of Saguntum, but in five days after his fleet sets out from Corinth. Remember the alarm formerly spread throughout all Italy by Pyrrhus King of Epirus, when haughty from his victory he came almost to the gates of Rome, and that at a time, when the Commonwealth, more flourishing than ever it had been, wanted neither troops nor Generals, and had not been exhausted by long and bloody wars. Can the power of Pyrrhus be compared to that of Philip, or Epirus to Macedonia? But, not to recur to ancient times, reflect upon what has happened lately. If you had refused to go to Africa, Hannibal and the Carthaginians had been still here. Let Macedonia, rather than Italy, feel all the horrors of war, by the ruin of its cities and countries. We have more than once experienced, that our arms are more successful abroad than in our own country. Romans, give therefore your suffrages again, and hearken to the advice of the Senators, to which the immortal gods, whom I have consulted by the auspices and sacrifices, promise all kinds of prosperity.*

When the Consul had done speaking, the affair was again brought into deliberation, and the war was decreed. Public prayers were appointed for three days, to implore success of the gods in the war with Philip, which had been just resolved by the People. Sulpicius consulted the *Fæciales*, to know whether it was necessary for the declaration of war to be made personally to King Philip, or only on the nearest frontier of his kingdom. They answered that the thing was indifferent, and that it was regular in both forms. The Senate left the choice of the person, who should be appointed to declare



A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

declare war against the King, to the Consul. The distribution of the provinces, the number of troops to serve this year, and the Generals to command them, were afterwards regulated.

The public prayers which had been decreed, were performed, and all the temples of the gods, had been visited. The People who were very religious and attentive, to render the gods favourable, especially in the beginning of a new war, decreed again, that the Consul, to whom the province of Macedonia had fallen, should promise games and sacrifices to the gods.

*Ambassadors from Ptolemy.*  
Liv. xxxi.  
9.

Whilst preparations for the war were making, ambassadors arrived from Ptolemy King of Egypt, who declared, “ that the Athenians had sent to demand aid of their master against Philip. But that, though they were his friends and allies as well as of the Roman People, the King thought it incumbent upon him not to send either army or fleet to Greece to attack, or defend, any state whatsoever, without the consent of the Roman People.” The Senate, after having thanked the King for his obliging care, replied: “ That the design of the Roman People was to defend their allies: that if, in the sequel, there should arise occasion for any aid, the King should be informed of it, because they entirely relied upon his good intentions.” The ambassadors were dismissed with presents, after having received all possible honours.

*The Gauls take arms at the instigation of Amilcar.*  
Liv. xxxi.  
10.

Whilst every body was solely intent upon the war of Macedonia, news, which there was not any room to expect, were received from another side: this was, that Amilcar General of the Carthaginians, who had survived Asdrubal's army in Liguria, had made the Insubrians, Cænomani, Boii, and other nations of Cisalpine Gaul take arms. The Prætor Furius, who commanded in that province,

vince, wrote to the Senate, that the enemy, after having plundered and burnt part of Placentia, were actually upon their march against Cremona. That he was not in a condition to aid those two colonies, having no more than five thousand troops, and that it would be exposing them to slaughter to send them against an army, that amounted to at least forty thousand men.

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

After the reading of these letters, the Senate commanded the Consul C. Aurelius to order his army directly, that were to rendezvous in Etruria, to repair the same day to Ariminum, and either to go in person to the aid of the colony, if the affairs of the Commonwealth would permit him to quit Rome, or to give that commission to L. Furius. He chose the latter.

At the same time the Senate decreed that three ambassadors should be sent, first to Carthage, and then to Numidia to King Masinissa. C. Terentius Varro, P. Lucretius, and Cn. Octavius, were charged with this commission.

*Ambassadors sent to Carthage and Masinissa.*  
Liv. xxxi.

They had orders to complain, “ that the General Amilcar had made the Gauls and Ligurians take arms contrary to the treaty ; and to declare if they desired that the peace, which had been granted them, should subsist, that they must recall their citizen, and deliver him into the hands of the Romans. They were also to observe to them, that they had not restored all the deserters : that it was known at Rome, a great number had remained at Carthage, where they went to and fro publickly : that they should take care to have a strict search made for them, in order to their being delivered up conformably to the treaty.

“ The same ambassadors were ordered to congratulate Masinissa, in the name of the Roman People, on his not only having recovered the

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

“ kingdom of his forefathers, but augmented it  
 “ with the most flourishing part of the dominions  
 “ of Syphax. They were also to inform him,  
 “ that war had been declared against King Phi-  
 “ lip, because he had aided the Carthaginians  
 “ against the Romans ; and in consequence to  
 “ desire him to send the Romans a body of Nu-  
 “ midian cavalry to be employed in this war.”  
 They had presents with them for the King, and  
 were ordered to tell him, “ That he should find  
 “ in the gratitude of the Roman People all the  
 “ assistance he might ever want, either to confirm  
 “ his authority, or extend his dominions.”

*Ambassa-  
dor: from  
the son of  
Syphax to  
the Ro-  
mans.  
Liv. ibid.*

At the same time the ambassadors of Vermina,  
 the son of Syphax, applied to the Senate, “ ex-  
 “ cusing the imprudent conduct of their master in  
 “ taking arms against the Romans, from the  
 “ youth of that Prince, and ascribing the whole  
 “ fault to the deceitful counsels of the Carthagi-  
 “ nians. They represented, that Masinissa, from  
 “ an enemy to the Romans, had become their  
 “ friend and ally. That Vermina would ardently  
 “ endeavour by his services not to give place to  
 “ Masinissa or any other Prince, in zeal and at-  
 “ tachment for the Roman People.” The Senate  
 answered the ambassadors “ That it was without  
 “ any just reason that Syphax, the friend and ally  
 “ of the Roman People, had suddenly become  
 “ their enemy, and that it was with no less injus-  
 “ tice, that Vermina his son had in a manner sig-  
 “ nalized his accession to the throne by attacking  
 “ the Romans. That therefore he must ask peace  
 “ of the Roman People, before he entertained  
 “ thoughts of being acknowledged as King, ally,  
 “ and friend. That this was an honour, it was  
 “ not usual for the Roman People to grant, ex-  
 “ cept to those who had rendered them great ser-  
 “ vices. That the deputies from Rome would  
 “ soon



“ soon be in Africa, and would signify to Ver- A. R. 552.  
 “ mina the conditions, upon which the Roman Ant. C. 200.  
 “ People consented to grant him peace, That if  
 “ he should desire any article to be added to, or  
 “ returned from them, or any other change to be  
 “ made, he might have recourse again to the Se-  
 “ nate.” The Roman deputies set out with the  
 instructions, of which we have just been speaking.  
 Each of them had a galley with five benches of  
 oars.

When they arrived in Africa, the Carthaginians *Success of*  
 replied, that all they could do in respect to Amil- *the Em-*  
 car, was to pass Sentence of banishment upon him, *bassy of*  
 and to confiscate his estate. That as to the de- *the Ro-*  
 serters and Roman slaves, that they had delivered *mans in*  
 up all those they had been able to discover. That *Africa.*  
 as to the rest, they would send ambassadors to *Liv. xxxi.*  
 Rome, to give the Senate satisfaction in respect to *19.*  
 these two articles. At the same time they sent  
 two hundred thousand bushels of wheat to Rome,  
 and as many to Macedonia, for the subsistence of  
 the armies.

From Carthage the Roman ambassadors re-  
 paired to the court of Masinissa, who received  
 them perfectly well. He offered the Common-  
 wealth two thousand Numidians. The ambassa-  
 dors accepted only a thousand; and that Prince  
 took care to embark them himself, and sent them  
 to Macedonia, with two hundred thousand bushels  
 of wheat, and as much barley.

When Vermina knew, that the Roman ambaf-  
 fadors were on their way to his dominions, he went  
 as far as the frontier of his kingdom to meet them.  
 He submitted beforehand to all the conditions they  
 should think fit to prescribe; adding that any  
 peace with the Romans would seem just and ad-  
 vantagious. It was granted him. The articles  
 were dictated to him, and he was directed to send

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ANL C. 200.

deputies to Rome to receive the ratification of them.

*Money taken out of the temple of Proserpina.*  
Liv. xxxi.  
12.

In the mean time the Roman Senate had received advice of a new sacrilege committed at Locri in the temple of Proserpina. Advice of this was sent by the Prætor Q. Minucius, to whom Bruttium had fallen by lot, who observed at the same time, that the authors of the crime could not be discovered. The Senate saw with indignation, that sacrileges multiplied, and that the still recent example of the guilt and punishment of Pleminius was not capable of intimidating and restraining the impious. The Consul Aurelius was ordered to write to the Prætor, “ That the Senate decreed  
“ that informations should be taken in respect to  
“ this theft, as had been done some years before  
“ in the like case. That the money that could be  
“ discovered should be replaced in the treasury.  
“ That what should be deficient should be supplied ; and if it were judged convenient, that  
“ such expiatory sacrifices should be made, as the  
“ Pontiffs had decreed before, by way of reparation for so criminal a sacrilege.”

*Remon-  
strances of  
many private persons to the  
Senate concerning the  
debts due to them  
from the  
Commonwealth.*  
Liv. xxxi.  
13.

After all the duties of religion had been performed upon the occasion of the different prodigies, a very great number of private persons, to whom only one payment out of three had been made of the money they had lent the Commonwealth ten years before in the Consulship of M. Valerius, and M. Claudius, applied to the Senate. The Consuls had answered them, that the treasury was not in a condition actually to discharge that debt, on account of the great expences, the new war made indispensibly necessary, for keeping up numerous forces, and equipping considerable fleets. “ They represented, that if the Commonwealth should employ for the war of Macedonia the sums, which they had lent for that of  
“ Car-

“ Carthage, new wars continually succeeding each  
 “ other, the reward of their zeal for the Common-  
 “ wealth would be to see themselves deprived for  
 “ ever of their fortunes.”

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 Ant. C. 200.

The Senate thought these remonstrances very just, as they were in effect: but the Commonwealth was absolutely not in a condition to discharge those debts. Such a situation must give abundance of pain to Senators, who revered justice, and sincerely loved the People. They found a wise expedient, which the persons concerned themselves suggested to them: this was to give up to those particulars such lands belonging to the public within the space of fifty miles from Rome, as should be actually to sell. The Consuls were ordered to take an estimate of these lands, and to lay the yearly rent of a single as upon each acre, to denote that they were the property of the public. And, when the state should be able to discharge these debts, it should be left to particulars, either to receive their money and surrender these lands, or to keep them. They accepted these conditions with joy. In all this proceeding there is a spirit of equity and love of the public good, which does great honour to the Romans, and which ought to serve as a model to all those, who administer governments; of which one of the most essential duties is to consider Faith to public engagements as a thing sacred and inviolable, from which they ought never to depart in the least. This (*a*) persuasion strongly implanted in the minds of a People is the greatest resource of States.

\* Nulla res vehementius esse potest, nisi erit necessaria  
 remp. commendat [*or* con- solutio rerum creditarum. *Cic.*  
 tinet] quàm fides: quæ nulla *Offic.* II. 84.



A. R. 552.  
 Ann. C. 200.  
*The Consul*  
*Sulpicius*  
*arrives in*  
*Macedo-*  
*nia, and*  
*sends Cen-*  
*tho to the*  
*aid of*  
*Athens.*  
 Liv. xxxi.  
 14.

At length the Consul Sulpicius, after having made the usual vows and prayers in the Capitol, set out from Rome in the military robe [*paludamentum*] of his office, and preceded by his Lic-tors. He went from Brundisium to Macedonia in two days. At his arrival, he found the deputies of Athens, who conjured him to deliver the city from the siege then carrying on by the troops of Philip. He immediately detached C. Claudius Centho with twenty galleys and some troops to the aid of Athens.

*Centho*  
*takes and*  
*plunders*  
*the city*  
*of Chalcis.*  
 Liv. xxxi.  
 23.

Centho having entered the Piræus with his gal-leys, the courage and resolution of the inhabitants revived. He did not content himself with pro-viding for the security of the city and all the adja-cent country : but having received advice that the garrison of Chalcis observed neither order nor dis-cipline as remote from all danger, he set out with his fleet, arrived near that city before day, and having found the centinels asleep entered it without difficulty, set fire to the public magazines of corn, and the arsenal which was full of machines of war, and cut to pieces all the soldiers in the city. If he had had troops enough to leave a garrison in Chalcis, without abandoning the defence of Athens, it would have been, in the beginning of this war, a blow of the last importance, to have deprived Philip of the city of Chalcis, and of the Euripus. For the strait of the Euripus closes the entrance in-to Greece by sea, as the defile of Thermopylæ does by land. But he was not in a condition to divide the few troops he had. In consequence, after having caused the plunder he had taken to be carried on board of his ships, he returned to the Piræus, from whence he had set out.

*Philip be-*  
*sieges A-*  
*thens with-*  
*out effect.*  
 Liv. xxxi.  
 42.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, on the first news he received of the misfortune befallen that allied city, set out with the utmost diligence in

in hopes of surprizing the Romans. But they were gone, so that he seemed to have come thither only to be a spectator of that place still smoking and half in ruins. Substituting to the joy he would have had in aiding his allies, the pleasure of avenging himself upon his enemies, he conceived thoughts of doing the same to Athens, and to surprize it as the Romans had surprized Chalcis. He would have gained his point, if one of those couriers, called \* *Hemerodromi*, having perceived the King's troops from the eminence where he was placed, had not immediately carried the news to Athens, where he arrived about midnight, and where all were asleep. Philip also arrived there some few hours after, but before day. That Prince perceiving the lights which had been kindled in different parts, and hearing the tumult and cries of the citizens, who ran on all sides where danger and necessity called, resolved to attack the city by open force, as stratagem had miscarried.

The Athenians had drawn up their troops in battle on the outside of the walls at the gate Dipylon. Philip at the head of his army, threw himself into the press, and having killed and wounded several with his own hand, repulsed them into the city, into which he did not think fit to follow them. He vented his wrath upon the country houses and public places of exercise, burning and destroying every thing that came in his way, without sparing even the tombs, or what was the most sacred. He set out from thence to surprize Eleusis, where he was again disappointed.

He returned soon after against Athens, and formed the siege a second time with as little success

\* They were so called, because they ran a great way in a day, on foot.

*He besieges Athens a second time with as little success, and lays waste all Attica.*

Liv. xxxi.

as 26.

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

as the first. After having been shamefully repulsed by the besieged, he went again to destroy the country. After the first siege he had only destroyed the tombs which were without the city: but now, to spare nothing of all that religion ought to render inviolable, he caused all the temples in the towns and villages of the country to be burnt and demolished. The marble, which abounded in Attica, wrought by the most excellent workmen, skilled in the use of that stone, adorned the whole country with those sacred edifices, which that Prince then sacrificed to his fury and revenge. Not contented with demolishing the temples, and throwing down the statues of the gods, he also caused all the stones which had remained whole to be broken to pieces, in order that no trace of so many fine monuments might remain, and that it might not be possible even to shew the ruins of them. After so glorious an expedition, he retired into Bæotia. A King, who is so little master of his rage, and who abandons himself to such excesses, scarce deserves that name.

*The Romans ravage the frontiers of Macedonia*  
Liv. xxxi.  
27.

The Consul, who was incamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, sent a considerable detachment into Macedonia under the command of his lieutenant Apustius, who ravaged the flat country, and took several small cities.

The Romans having begun the war by these successful expeditions, saw several Kings and Princes bordering upon Macedonia arrive in their camp: amongst others Pleurates son of Scerdiledes King of part of Illyricum, Aminander King of the Athamantes, and Bato son of Longarus, Prince of the Dardanians. Longarus had been powerful enough to make war with his own forces against Demetrius, Philip's father. The Consul answered these Princes, who offered him their service against the King of Macedonia, that when he should



should enter the enemy's country with his army, he should make use of the troops, with which the Dardanians and Pleurates should supply him. As for Aminander, he directed him to engage the Ætolians to enter into the league against Philip. He caused Attalus to be told, whose Ambassadors were also come to him, that he should expect the Roman fleet at Ægina, where he was in winter-quarters, and when it arrived, and had joined him, that he should continue to act against the Macedonians by sea, as he had began. He also sent Ambassadors to the Rhodians, to exhort them to act in concert with the allies against Philip.

That Prince, on his side, on his arrival in Macedonia, also made great preparation for the war. He made his son Perseus, who was then very young, set out with lieutenants capable of advising him, and a part of his troops, to seize some defiles at the entrance of \* Phelagonia. He demolishes Sciathus and Peparethus, cities considerable enough, situated in islands of the Ægean sea of the same name, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemies fleet. He sent Ambassadors to the Ætolians, whose restlessness and inconstancy he knew, to exhort them to continue in alliance with him against the Romans.

The Ætolians were on a certain day to hold their general assembly. Philip, the Romans, and the Athenians sent thither their Ambassadors. Those of Philip spoke first. “ They confined themselves to demanding, that the Ætolians should adhere to the conditions of the peace they had concluded some years before with Philip, having then experienced how much the alliance with the Romans was contrary to their interests. They cited the example of Mes-

*Philip's preparations.*  
*Assembly of the Ætolians, to which Philip, the Athenians and Romans send their Ambassadors.*  
*Liv. xxxi. 29—32.*

\* *A province of Macedonia.*

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

“fina and of all Sicily, of which the Romans  
“had made themselves masters under the pre-  
“text of bringing them aid. They exaggerated  
“upon the rigor, with which the Romans treat-  
“ed conquered cities, Syracuse, Tarentum, Ca-  
“pua: (a) the latter in particular, which was  
“no longer Capua, but the tomb of the Cam-  
“panians, the carcase of a city, without Senate,  
“without People, without Magistrates, and more  
“cruelly treated by those who had suffered it  
“to subsist in that condition, than if they had  
“entirely destroyed it.” *If strangers, said he, more remote from us by their language, manners, customs, and laws, than by the spaces of land and sea that separate us from them, should possess themselves of this country, it were madness to hope, that they would treat us with more humanity, than they have their neighbours. Amongst us, States of the same country, and who speak the same language, Ætolians, Acarnanians, Macedonians, slight differences may arise, without consequence or duration: but with strangers, with Barbarians, as long as we are Greeks, we are, and continually shall be, at war. For it is nature, always invariable, and not any transitory cause, that arms us against them, and them against us. In this very place it is but few years since you made peace with Philip. The same causes still subsist, and we hope you will also observe the same conduct.*

The deputies of Athens, with the consent of the Romans, spoke next. “They began by re-  
“lating in a very moving manner the impious  
“and sacrilegious fury of Philip against the most  
“sacred monuments of Attica, against the most

(a) Capua quidem sepulcrum trunca, sine Senatu, sine plebe, ac monumentum Campani populi, elato & extorri ejecto relicta crudeliùs habitanda, ipso populo, superest; urbs quàm si delata foret, *Liv.*

“ august temples, the most venerable tombs, as if  
 “ he had declared war not only against men and  
 “ the living, but against the manes of the dead,  
 “ and even the majesty of the gods. That Æto-  
 “ lia, and all Greece, must expect the same  
 “ treatment, if Philip had the same occasion.  
 “ They concluded with imploring and conjuring  
 “ the Ætolians to have compassion upon Athens,  
 “ and to undertake under the guidance of the  
 “ gods, and that of the Romans, whose power  
 “ gave place only to that of the gods, a war so  
 “ just, as that they proposed to them.

“ The Roman deputy, after having at large re-  
 “ futed the insinuations of the Macedonians con-  
 “ cerning the treatment of the conquered cities by  
 “ Rome, and opposed them with the example of  
 “ Carthage, to which peace and liberty had very  
 “ lately been granted, maintained, that the Ro-  
 “ mans were so far from deserving the imputa-  
 “ tion of cruelty, that what they had to fear was  
 “ rather, that the excess of their favour and lenity  
 “ might induce States to declare the more easily  
 “ against them, because the conquered had al-  
 “ ways an assured resource to their clemency. He  
 “ represented in a brief, but lively, manner, the  
 “ criminal actions of Philip, his horrible cruel-  
 “ ties, and still more detestable debauches : all  
 “ facts the better known to them to whom he was  
 “ speaking, as they were nearer neighbours to  
 “ Macedonia, and in perpetual commerce with  
 “ Philip.” *But to confine myself to what regards*  
*you, continued that deputy, addressing himself to*  
*the Ætolians, we have undertaken the war against*  
*Philip for your defence : you have made peace with*  
*him without our participation. Perhaps you will say*  
*to justify yourselves, that seeing us employed in the*  
*war against the Carthaginians, reduced by fear you*  
*accepted the law imposed upon you by the strongest :*  
*and*



A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

*and we, on our side, called off by more important cares, having neglected a war, which you had renounced. Delivered now, thanks to the gods, from the war with Carthage, we turn all our forces against Macedonia. This is an occasion for you to renew your amity and alliance with us, which you ought not to neglect, unless you chuse rather to perish with Philip, than to conquer with the Romans.*

*The assembly separates without concluding any thing.*  
Liv. *ibid.*  
32.

Damocritus, Prætor of the Ætolians, plainly perceived, that this last discourse would bring over all the suffrages: it is said, that Philip had corrupted him with money. Without seeming to espouse either side, he represented, that the affair was too important to be determined immediately, and that it required time to be maturely considered. He thereby eluded the designs and expectations of the Romans; and boasted that he had done his nation a considerable service, which might wait the event, before it resolved, and might then declare for the strongest.

*The Consul enters Macedonia. Rencontre of two parties.*

Philip in the mean time made vigorous preparations for the war by sea and land: but the Consul actually carried it on. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Dassaretæ. Philip also took the field. Neither side knew what route the other had taken. Detachments of horse were sent out on both sides to scout. These two parties met. As they consisted entirely of chosen troops, the action was rude, and the victory remained doubtful. Forty of the Macedonians, and thirty-five of the Romans, were left upon the spot.

The King, persuaded that the care he should take to bury those, who fell in this rencontre, would abundantly contribute to gain him the affection of the troops, and would animate them to fight valiantly for him, caused their bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be witnesses of the honours he should pay

pay them. (a) Nothing is less to be relied on than the sentiments and disposition of the multitude.

A. A. 552.  
Ant. C. 2001

This fight, which it was believed, could not fail to animate the soldiers, had a quite different effect. Hitherto they had only had Greeks to deal with, who scarce used any weapons, but arrows, half pikes, and lances, and for that reason made less wounds. But when they saw the bodies of their comrades covered with large wounds made by the Spanish broad-swords, whole arms and shoulders cut off, and heads separated from bodies, that sight struck them with terror, and made them conceive against what enemies they were led.

The King himself, who had not yet had a near view of the Romans in a battle in form, was terrified at it. Having been informed by deserters of the place, where the enemy had halted, he caused himself to be conducted thither by guides with his army, which consisted of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and he posted himself at the distance of above two hundred paces from their camp, near the little city of Athaca, upon an eminence, which he caused to be fortified with good intrenchments. When he considered the disposition of the Roman camp from the top of that hill, he cried out, \* *That was not a camp of Barbarians.*

The Consul and the King continued two days without making any motion, in expectation of each other. On the third day Sulpicius quitted his camp, and drew up his troops in battle. Philip, who was afraid to hazard a general action, sent a detachment against the enemy of fourteen hundred men, half infantry, half cavalry; to which

*Various actions of small importance between the two armies.*  
Liv. xxxi. 35.

(a) Nihil tam incertum nec tam inæstimabile est, quàm animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur

facturum, id metum pigritiamque incussit. Liv.

\* *The same saying is ascribed to Pyrrhus.*

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

the Romans opposed a like number, that had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They also happily avoided the ambuscade, which the King had laid for them. These two advantages, the one by open force, and the other over stratagem, filled the Romans with boldness and courage, and the soldiers, superior by force, and ineffectually attempted by stratagem, retired full of joy and confidence. The Consul led them back into his camp, and the next day made them quit it, and advanced to offer the King battle, having posted the elephants, which the Romans had taken from the Carthaginians, and then used for the first time, in the front. Philip did not think it proper to accept of the defiance, and kept close in his camp, notwithstanding the insults and reproaches of Sulpicius, who taxed him with fear and cowardice.

*Philip gains some advantage over the Roman foragers, and is afterwards defeated and obliged to fly.*

As foraging was very dangerous from the nearness of the two armies, the Consul removed about eight miles, and advanced towards a town called Octolopha ; from whence the foragers dispersed into all the adjacent country in separate parties. The King at first kept close within his intrenchments, as if through fear, in order that the enemy, by becoming more bold, might also become less cautious. This did not fail to happen. When Philip saw them dispersed in great numbers about the country, he suddenly quitted his camp with all his cavalry, followed by the Cretans as fast as was possible for foot to move, and posted himself between the camp of the Romans and the foragers. There, dividing his troops, he sent a part of them against the foragers, with orders to put all to the sword which came in their way ; and with the other part he seized all the avenues, by which they could return. The whole plain was covered with the flight and slaughter ; whilst nothing of what passed



passed without, was yet known in the Roman camp, because those who fled fell in with the King's troops ; and those who were posted in the ways killed a much greater number, than those, who were sent out in pursuit of the enemy.

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

At length this bad news arrived in the camp. The Consul gave orders to the horse to go each as they could to the aid of the foragers. As to himself he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them against the enemy drawn up in an hollow square. The horse, dispersed on all sides, straggled at first, misled by the cries which came from several parts. Many fell in with the enemy. The charge was given at the same time on different sides. The rudest part of the action passed with the body of troops, whom the King commanded in person, which were very numerous as well in infantry as cavalry ; besides which, those troops were infinitely animated by the presence of the King ; and the Cretans, who fought in close order, and firmly drawn up against enemies dispersed and in disorder, killed a great number of them.

It is certain, that if they had been less eager in pursuing the Romans, this day would not only have decided the present success, but perhaps that of the whole war. But in effect of having abandoned themselves to an inconsiderate ardor, they fell into the midst of the Roman cohorts who had advanced with their officers. Those who fled, then perceiving the Roman ensigns, faced about, and spurred their horses against the enemy, who were entirely in disorder. The face of the battle changed that moment ; and those who pursued before, now fled. Many were killed in close fight, and many in flying : and they did not only perish by the sword, but abundance, by throwing themselves precipitately into the morasses, were so plunged

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

plunged in the mud, that they remained there with their horses.

The King himself was in great danger. For having been thrown down by his horse, which had received a great wound, he was upon the point of being cut to pieces, if one of his cavalry, had not immediately alighted, and remounted him. But that trooper himself, not being able to make off soon enough, was killed by the enemy after having saved his King's life. Philip took a long compass round the marshes, and at length regained his camp, to which it was not expected that he would ever return.

We have already seen several times, and it cannot be too much inculcated to military persons, in order to their avoiding the like fault, that the loss of battles often proceeds from the too great ardor of officers, who being solely intent upon the pursuit of an enemy, neglect and forget what passes in the rest of the army, and suffer themselves to be deprived through an ill-judged desire of glory, of a victory, which they had in their hands, and were assured of.

Philip did not lose many of his troops in this action, but he feared a second ; and to avoid it, he proposed to retire, and to conceal his retreat from the enemy. With this design, in the evening he sent a herald to the Consul to demand a suspension of arms, in order to bury the dead. The Consul, who had set down to table, ordered the herald to be told, that he would give him an answer the next morning. Philip, during that time, having left abundance of fires in his camp to amuse the Romans, set out without noise as soon as it was dark. As he was the whole night, and part of the next day before the Consul, the latter had no hope of being able to come up with him.

Sulpicius

Sulpicius did not set out till some days after. The King had entertained hopes of stopping him in the defiles, the entrance of which he fortified with intrenchments, and barricades of stones and trees: but the perseverance and courage of the Romans surmounted all these difficulties. The Consul, after having laid waste the country, and made himself master of many important places, led back his army to Apollonia, from whence he had set out in the beginning of the campaign.

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

*Sulpicius  
returns to  
Apollonia.*

The Ætolians, who only waited the event for declaring themselves, delayed no longer to do so in favour of the Romans, who had the advantage. Having joined Amynander, King of the Athamantes, they made some incursions into Thessalia, which succeeded badly enough; Philip having beaten them on different occasions, and reduced them to retire with great difficulty into Ætolia. One of his Lieutenants also defeated the Dardani-ans, that had entered Macedonia during the King's absence, who consoled himself with these slight advantages for his bad success against the Romans.

*The Æto-  
lians de-  
clare for  
the Ro-  
mans.*

Liv. xxxi.  
40—43.

In this campaign, the Roman fleet, in conjunction with that of Attalus, approached Athens. The hatred of the Athenians for Philip, the effects of which fear had reduced them to suppress, broke out without any bounds on the sight of so powerful an aid. In a free city like Athens, where the talent of speaking had a kind of absolute sway, the orators had acquired such an ascendant over the people, that they made them take what resolutions they thought fit. On this occasion the people, on their remonstrances, decreed, “ that all the statues and representations of  
“ King Philip, and of all his ancestors of both  
“ sexes, should be absolutely destroyed; that  
“ their names should be effaced, with all the ti-  
“ tles

*Decrees of  
the Athe-  
nians a-  
gainst  
Philip.*

Liv. xxxi.  
44, 45.



A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

“ tles and inscriptions, with which they might  
 “ have been honoured in past times. That the  
 “ festivals, sacrifices, and priesthoods instituted  
 “ in honour of them, should likewise be abolish-  
 “ ed. That all the places in which monuments  
 “ had been erected to them, should be declared  
 “ impure, profane, and detestable. That the  
 “ priests, as often as they should offer up their  
 “ prayers to the gods for the people of Athens,  
 “ their allies, armies and fleets, should pronounce  
 “ all kinds of anathemas and execrations against  
 “ Philip, his children, kingdom, and forces by  
 “ sea and land ; in a word, against all the Ma-  
 “ cedonians in general, and all that appertained  
 “ to them.” To this decree was added, “ That  
 “ all which should from thenceforth be proposed  
 “ to the disgrace and dishonour of Philip, should  
 “ have the consent of the people ; and that who-  
 “ ever should presume to say or do any thing in  
 “ his favour, or contrary to these defamatory de-  
 “ crees, might be killed upon the spot without  
 “ farther formality.” And lastly, that nothing  
 might be omitted, and to include all in one gene-  
 ral expression, “ That all which had been formerly  
 “ decreed against the children of the tyrant Pi-  
 “ sistratus, should take place against Philip.”

The Athenians made war in this manner against Philip by decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only force. And as they carried all things to excess at this time, they in proportion lavished praises, honours, and every kind of homage upon Attalus and the Romans.

Liv. xxxi.

14, 15.

Some time before, when the same Attalus entered the port Piræus with his fleet, with design to renew his treaty of alliance with the Athenians, all the inhabitants of the city, with their wives and children, all the priests in their sacerdotal vestments, and one might almost say, the very gods them-

themselves quitted their abodes in some sense, and went out to meet and receive him in a kind of triumph. The assembly was summoned, to hear the proposals that Prince had to make. (a) But he wisely judged it more for his dignity to declare to them his intentions by writing, which should be read in his absence, than to expose himself to the shame of relating in person the service he had done their Commonwealth, and receiving excessive praises from them, which would infinitely shock his modesty. At that time it was proposed to add an eleventh tribe to the ten old ones, that formed the body of the State, which should bear the name of Attalus.

We do not see in this that elevation of sentiments, that lively and ardent zeal for liberty, that dislike, or rather aversion in a manner natural, for all kinds of flattery and abject submission, which was the most distinguished characteristic of these antient Republicans, and which had constituted their glory in antient times.

The fleet of the Romans and Attalus, in conjunction with twenty Rhodian ships, scoured the coasts, and executed some expeditions, the particulars of which are of little importance: after which it separated, and each ally went to winter in their own country.

*The fleet retires.*  
Liv. xxxi.  
45—47.

To break the less into what regards the war with Philip, I have omitted some facts, which I shall restore in this place. I shall do the same sometimes without taking notice of it.

(a) Ex dignitate magis visum, scribere eum de quibus videretur, quàm præsentem aut referendis suis in civitatem beneficiis erubescere; aut significationibus acclamationibusque multitudinis assentatione immodicâ pudorem orantibus. Liv.

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.  
*An Ovation is granted Lentulus for his successes in Spain.*  
Liv. xxxi.  
20.

The Proconsul L. Cornelius Lentulus being returned from Spain, after having related to the Senate the services, which he had done during several years in that province, demanded as a reward, that he should be permitted to enter the city in triumph. The Senators did not deny that he had deserved that honour. But there was no example of a General's having triumphed, unless he had commanded either in quality of Dictator, Consul, or Prætor; and Lentulus had only been Proconsul in Spain. It was for the same reason, that Scipio himself had been refused a triumph after his return from Spain. However, on this occasion a medium was chosen, and an Ovation was granted to Lentulus, that is the smaller triumph.

*L. Furius defeats the army of the Gauls, which besieged Cremona.*  
Liv. xxxi.  
21, 22.

I have observed before, that the Prætor L. Furius, in the absence of the Consul, had received orders from him to march directly to the aid of Cremona, besieged by the Gauls. He lost no time, approached the enemy, and offered them battle. Furius gave such good orders, and animated his troops so effectually, that the Gauls, after an indifferent resistance, fled in disorder to their camp. The Roman cavalry pursued them thither; and the legions arriving there soon after, attacked and took it. Scarce six thousand of them escaped. More than thirty-five thousand were killed or taken, with fourscore ensigns, and above two hundred carriages laden with rich spoils. Amilcar, the Carthaginian General, was killed here, with three of the Gaulish Generals of the greatest distinction. The victor recovered from them two thousand free citizens of Placentia, whom they had taken, and reinstated them in their colony. So considerable a victory occasioned great joy at Rome. As soon as the Prætor's letters brought the  
news



news of it, the Senate decreed thanksgivings to the gods, which were solemnized during three days.

Though the Prætor had almost terminated this war, the Consul Aurelius having made an end of the affairs, that kept him at Rome, immediately repaired to Gaul and took upon him the command of the victorious army, which the Prætor resigned to him. On his arrival, he could not conceal his envy and resentment for the Prætor's having acted during his absence. There is in envy a base turn of mind and a meanness of sentiment, which ought to make all mankind abhor and detest that vice. It was the Consul himself, who had ordered Furius in the name of the Senate to proceed immediately to action. Would he have had him staid for him with his folded arms, and suffered Cremona to be taken before his eyes? Instead of sharing in the victory, and doing himself honour by treating the victor with justice, he ordered him to go to Etruria, whilst he led the legions into the enemy's country, and by the ravages he committed there, made a war by which he acquired more plunder than glory.

The Prætor Furius, seeing there was nothing to do in Etruria, and convinced that in the absence of the incensed and envious Consul, he should more easily obtain a triumph, at which he aspired, and believed he had justly deserved by the defeat of the Gauls, returned with speed to Rome, where he was not expected. The Senate gave him audience in the temple of Bellona. After having given an account of his conduct, and related the circumstances of his victory, he demanded permission to enter the city in triumph.

This proceeding had something irregular in it. Accordingly the senior Senators were for refusing him a triumph, “and because it was not with his

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

*The Consul Aurelius's envy for the Prætor.*

Liv. xxxi. 47.

*Furius returns to Rome, and demands a triumph.*  
Liv. ibid.

*After long debates he is granted a triumph.*

“ own Ib. 48, 49.

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

“ own army, but with that of the Consul, that  
 “ he had defeated the Gauls; and especially be-  
 “ cause he had quitted his province, which had  
 “ no example, through his eager desire of obtain-  
 “ ing a triumph by favour of the Consul’s ab-  
 “ sence.” The persons of consular dignity went  
 farther; and as they were interested in supporting  
 the splendor and dignity of the Consulship, which  
 seemed to have been little regarded by Furius,  
 they pretended, “ That it had been his duty to  
 “ wait for the Consul, before he had attempted  
 “ any thing. That he might, by remaining in-  
 “ camped near Cremona, have defended the colo-  
 “ ny, and protracted affairs without coming to a  
 “ battle, till Aurelius had arrived. That the Se-  
 “ nate ought not to imitate his temerity but wait  
 “ the Consul’s return. That then, having heard  
 “ the reasons on both sides, they should be more  
 “ capable of deciding in the question.”

The majority, struck with the greatness of the  
 victory gained by Furius, and warmly solicited  
 by his friends and relations, maintained, “ That  
 “ the only point in question was to know, whe-  
 “ ther the Prætor had acted as General in chief,  
 “ and under the guidance of his own auspices,  
 “ and whether his actions deserved a triumph or  
 “ no. That the order of the Senate to the Con-  
 “ sul either to set out himself to defend an allied  
 “ city in person, or to give that commission to  
 “ the Prætor, was an unanswerable apology for  
 “ the latter. (a) That besides, in affairs of war,  
 “ the least delays occasion the loss of the most  
 “ favourable opportunities, and that a General  
 “ frequently gives battle, not out of inclination,

(a) Non expectare belli esse interdum, non quia velis,  
 tempora moras & dilationes sed quia hostis cogat. *Liv.*  
 Imperatorum; & pugnandum

“ but because he is reduced to it by the enemy. A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 209.  
 “ That nothing was to be considered but the bat-  
 “ tle itself, and the consequences attending it.  
 “ That the victory was compleat : that the ene-  
 “ my had been defeated and cut to pieces : that  
 “ their camp had been taken and plundered :  
 “ that of the two colonies, the one had been de-  
 “ livered from the danger that threatened it, and  
 “ the other had recovered such of its citizens as  
 “ the enemy had made prisoners : and lastly,  
 “ that a single battle had terminated the war with  
 “ as much glory as good-fortune. That this victory  
 “ had not only rejoiced the Romans, but the gods  
 “ themselves had been thanked for it during three  
 “ days in the most solemn manner ; which was an  
 “ authentic approbation of Furius’s conduct, to  
 “ whose name, and \* family, even the gods  
 “ seemed to have attached the glorious privilege  
 “ of conquering and triumphing over the Gauls.”

These discourses of Furius and his Friends, sup-  
 ported by the presence of that Prætor, prevailed  
 over the regard some believed due to the supreme  
 rank of the absent Consul, and occasioned the ho-  
 nour of a triumph to be decreed to the Prætor. He  
 caused 320,000 *asses* to be carried into the public  
 treasury, which amounts to about eight hundred  
 pounds sterling, and 17,000 thousand pounds of  
 silver in weight. But he had neither prisoners nor  
 spoils carried before his chariot, and was not ac-  
 companied by troops. Every thing was plainly  
 at the Consul’s discretion, except the victory.

After this triumph, Scipio caused the games to Scipio cele-  
brates  
games.  
His soldiers  
are re-  
warded.  
 be celebrated with great magnificence whilst he  
 commanded in Africa in quality of Proconsul, and  
 two acres of land were granted to each soldier,

\* In allusion to the great Camillus (M. Furius Camillus) who Liv. xxx.  
49.  
 had reconquered Rome from the Gauls.



A. R. 592.  
A. S. C. 200.

who had served under him for every year they had born arms in Spain and Africa.

*Army of  
the Spani-  
ards de-  
feated.*

This same year C. Cornelius Cethegus, who commanded in Spain as Proconsul, defeated a considerable army in the country of the Sedetani. The Spaniards left fifteen thousand men upon the place, and seventy eight ensigns in the hands of the victors.

*Return of  
the Consul  
Aurelius  
to Rome.*

The Consul C. Aurelius being come to Rome to preside in the assemblies for the election of Consuls, did not complain, as it was expected he would, “ of the Senate’s not waiting his return  
“ for asserting his rights and authority over the  
“ Prætor in person : but that they had decreed  
“ Furius a triumph upon the meer account of his  
“ exploits, without hearing any of those, who  
“ had shared with him in this war. He repre-  
“ sented, that the motive, which had induced their  
“ ancestors to decree, that the person who trium-  
“ phed should be attended by the Lieutenant Gene-  
“ rals, Tribunes, Centurions, and troops, was in  
“ order, that the reality of facts should be attested  
“ in an authentic manner.” After this sufficiently moderate complaint, which shewed, that the Consul had at least partly suppressed the first virulence of his envy for Furius, he declared the day for the assemblies, in which L. Cornelius and P. Villius Tappulus were created Consuls.

*New Con-  
suls elected.*

Liv. xxxi.  
50.

This year provisions were sold at a very low price. As prodigious quantities of corn had been brought from Africa, the Curule Ædiles distributed it amongst the people at fifteen denarii a bushel.

*Combats of  
Gladiators*

Publius, Valerius, and Marcius his brother celebrated funeral games during four days in honour of M. Valerius Lævinus their father, which were followed by a shew of Gladiators. This Lævinus is the same, that was Consul with Marcellus, and who

who after having served the Commonwealth in the war, distinguished himself by the wisdom of his counsels in the Senate on different occasions as we have related.

A. R. 552.  
Ant. C. 200.

## S E C T. II.

*Provinces of the Consuls. First payment of the tribute laid on the Carthaginians. Sedition excited by the legions in Macedonia. Philip returns into Macedonia. He becomes anxious concerning the consequences of the war. He takes pains to conciliate allies by delivering up some cities: And to gain the affection of his subjects by disgracing a minister, universally hated by them. Scipio and Ælius created Censors. Cn. Bæbius is defeated in Gaul. Contest upon Quintius's demanding the Consulship. Character of that young Roman. Distribution of the provinces. The Ambassadors of King Attalus demand aid of the Senate against the invasions of Antiochus King of Syria. Wise reflexion of Plutarch upon the present war. Quintius sets out from Rome, and arrives in the army near Epirus. He resolves to march in quest of Philip in the defiles where he had intrenched himself. Conference between Quintius and Philip. The Consul attacks Philip in his defiles, defeats and puts him to flight. The King crosses Thessalia, and retires into Macedonia. Epirus and Thessalia submit to Quintius. Eretria and Carystos taken. Quintius besieges Elatea. Assembly of the Achæans at Sicyon. The Ambassadors of the Romans and their allies, and Philip's, have audience in it. After long debates, the Assembly declares for the Romans. Lucius, the Consul's brother, forms the siege of Corinth, and is obliged to raise it. The Consul takes Elatea. Philocles makes himself master of Argos. Affairs of Gaul. Conspiracy of the slaves discovered and sup-*

*suppressed. Crown of Gold sent to Rome by Attalus.*

A. R. 553.  
Ant. C. 199.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

*Provinces  
of the Con-  
suls.*

Liv. xxxii.

1.

*First pay-  
ment of  
the tri-  
bute laid*

*upon the  
Carthagi-  
nians.*

Liv. xxxii.

2.

*Sedition  
excited in  
Macedonia  
by the sol-  
diers of the  
legions.*

Liv. xxxii.

3.

**I**TALY fell by lot to Cornelius Lentulus, and Macedonia to P. Villius.

This year the Carthaginians brought to Rome the money due for the first payment of the tribute that had been laid upon them. The Quæstors having complained, that it was not of good alloy, and that upon taking the assay of it, they had found the fourth part bad, they were obliged to borrow sums at Rome to make up that deficiency. The Punic Faith still sustained itself. After having discharged this duty they desired the Senate to deliver up their hostages. Part of them were put into their hands, with a promise that the rest should be released, provided they persisted in continuing faithful.

P. Villius, on arriving in Macedonia, saw a violent sedition reviving which sufficient care had not been taken to stifle in its birth. It had been excited by two thousand of the soldiers, who after having defeated Hannibal in Africa, had been led back into Sicily, and from thence transported as volunteers into Macedonia. They affirmed, “ that they had not been voluntary in coming  
“ thither, and that the Tribunes of the soldiers  
“ had forced them to embark contrary to their  
“ utmost resistance. But that in whatever man-  
“ ner the thing had passed, whether they had con-  
“ sented to the service, or violence had been done  
“ them, the term of their service was expired.  
“ That they had not seen Italy during a great  
“ number of years. That they had grown old  
“ under arms in Sicily, Africa, and Macedonia.  
“ That



“ That they were worn out by fatigues, and exhausted of their blood and strength by the wounds they had received.” The Consul replied to these complaints, “ that their demand of being discharged was reasonable, if they had employed just means, and modest requests, for obtaining it. But that, neither the reasons they alledged, nor any other whatsoever, could ever justify a sedition. That accordingly, if they would continue under their ensigns, and obey their officers, he would write to the Senate, and be the first to sollicite their dismissal. That they would obtain it sooner by submission than by being refractory.” This answer appeased them.

A. R. 553.  
Ant. C. 199.

Philip then attacked Thaumacia, a city of Thessalia very advantagiously situated, with all his forces. The arrival of the Ætolians, who, under the command of Archidamus, had entered the place, obliged the King to raise the siege. He led back his troops into Macedonia, to pass the approaching winter there.

*Philip returns into Macedonia*  
Liv. xxxii. 4.

The leisure he then enjoyed, affording him time to make reflexions upon the future, gave him most cruel anxiety for the consequences of a war, in which he saw so many enemies united, who pressed him by sea and land. Besides which he apprehended, that the hopes of the Roman protection would have made him lose his allies; and that the Macedonians, discontented with the present government, might think of stirring, and even of failing in fidelity to him. He employed his whole application to avert these dangers.

*He grows anxious about the event of the war.*  
Liv. xxxii. 5.

As to his allies, he delivered up, or rather promised to deliver up, some cities to the Achæans, in order to attach them more strongly to him by a liberality they did not expect; and at the same time he sent Ambassadors into Achaia to make the allies take the oath, which was to be renewed

*He labours to attach his allies by giving up cities to them.*

every

A. R. 553.  
Ant. C. 199.

every year: a weak tie in respect to a Prince, who was not scrupulous himself in observing oaths!

*And to gain the affection of his subjects, by disgracing a minister, who was generally hated by them.*

Liv. Ibid.  
Polyb. xiii.  
672, 673.

As to what regards the Macedonians, he laboured to gain their affection at the expence of Heraclides, one of his ministers and confidents, who was detested and abhorred for his exactions and oppressions, which had rendered the government very odious. He was of very mean birth, born at Tarentum, where he had acted in the lowest offices, and had been expelled from thence for having designed to deliver up the city to the Romans. He went to throw himself into their arms. But he soon plotted a new treason against those, who had given him refuge, holding intelligence with the principal persons of Tarentum and Hannibal. His intrigue was discovered, and he took refuge with Philip; who finding him to have wit, activity, boldness, with an unbounded ambition, which the greatest crimes could not daunt, he attached him in a peculiar manner to his person, and gave him his whole confidence: a fit instrument for a Prince, who was himself entirely void of probity and honour! Heraclides, says Polybius, was born with all the qualities imaginable for forming a great villain. From his earliest youth, he had abandoned himself to the most infamous prostitutions. He was haughty and terrible in respect to his inferiors, but the meanest and most servile of flatterers to those above him. He had so much credit with Philip, that according to the same author, he was almost the cause of the entire ruin of so powerful a kingdom, by the general discontent occasioned by his injustice and oppressions. The King caused him to be seized and imprisoned, which occasioned universal joy amongst the People. As only fragments of Polybius upon this head are come down to us,  
history

history does not tell us what became of Heraclides, or whether he came to an end worthy of his crimes. But this passage alone perfectly informs us in respect to Philip, of whom much will be said in the sequel, and shews, what we are to think of a Prince capable of making choice of such a man for his minister.

Nothing considerable passed this campaign, between the Romans and Philip, still less than in the preceding. The Consuls did not enter Macedonia till the latter season, and all the rest of the time passed in slight skirmishes to force some passes, and carry off convoys.

In the mean time, the Consul Lentulus who had continued at Rome, held the assemblies for the creation of Censors. Out of several illustrious persons, who were candidates for this office P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus and P. Ælius Pætus were chosen. Those magistrates observed a strict union with each other, and when they read over the list of the Senators, according to custom, they did not note one.

At the same time, L. Manlius Acidinus returned from Spain. Though the Senate had decreed him an Ovation, the opposition of the Tribune M. Porcius Læca prevented him from enjoying that honour. He was obliged to enter the city as a private person.

The Prætor Cn. Bæbius Tampilus, to whom C. Aurelius, Consul the preceding year, had resigned the province of Gaul, having rashly entered the country of the Insubrian Gauls, was surrounded with all his troops, and lost above six thousand, six hundred men. So considerable a loss received from an enemy, from whom nothing was then apprehended, obliged the Consul to set out from Rome and to repair to the place. On his arrival, he found the province full of trouble and alarm.

A. R. 553.  
Ant. C. 199.

Liv. xxxii.  
5; 6.

Scipio and  
Ælius  
created  
Censors.  
Liv. xxxii.

7.

Cn. Bæ-  
bius is  
defeated  
in Gaul.



A. R. 553.  
Ant. C. 199.

alarm. After having reproached the Prætor, as his imprudence deserved, he ordered him to quit the province, and return to Rome. But as to himself he did nothing memorable in Gaul, having been recalled almost immediately to Rome on account of the assemblies for the election of Consuls.

*Contest  
upon T.  
Quintius's  
standing  
for the  
Consulship.  
That young  
Roman's  
character.  
Plut. in  
Flamin.  
p. 369.  
Liv. xxxii.  
7.*

There was some commotion in these assemblies, in respect to T. Quintius \* Flamininus, who stood for the Consulship. As this is the first time that we have occasion to speak of this Roman, who rendered himself very illustrious in the sequel, we shall begin by giving his character after Plutarch. He was very sudden, both in respect to anger, and good offices ; with this difference however, that his anger was of no long duration, and did not carry him into extreme rigours ; whereas he never did favours by halves, and valued himself upon his steadiness and constancy in respect to those he had once granted. He always retained the same amity and good will for those on whom he had conferred some benefit, as if they had been his benefactors ; considering it as a great advantage to himself, to be capable of retaining the regard and gratitude of those he had once obliged. Naturally ardent for honour and glory, he was averse to owing his greatest and most glorious actions to any thing but himself. For this reason he rather sought those, who stood in need of his aid, than those who could aid him ; considering the one as an ample field for his virtue, and the others as rivals upon the point of depriving him of part of his glory.

In the different offices which he passed through, he acquired great reputation not only for valour,

\* Plutarch calls him Flamininus, but through mistake ; they were two different families.

but probity and justice : which occasioned him to be chosen commissioner and chief of the colonies, which the Romans sent into the two cities of Narnia and Cosa. This distinction exalted his courage to such a degree, that leaping over the other employments, which were the steps by which young persons were obliged to rise, he on a sudden boldly aspired at the Consulship, though he had not yet been Quæstor, and offered himself as a candidate for it, supported by the favour of those two colonies.

M. Fulvius and Manius Curius, Tribunus of the People opposed his demand, affirming it was a strange and unheard of thing, that a young man, a kind of novice, and without experience, should undertake on a sudden to seize in a manner by force the first dignity of the Commonwealth. They reproached the Patricians with having for some time despised the Ædile and Prætorships, and with aspiring at once at the Consulship, before they had given the People any proof of their ability and merit, by exercising inferior magistracies. The contest was carried from the field of Mars, into the Senate. When every one had given their reasons, the Senators determined, that the People had a right to raise such of the citizens to offices as they pleased, provided they had the qualities required by the laws. There \* were none yet, that made it necessary to pass through these different gradations. The Tribunes insisted no longer, and submitted to the decision of the Senate. Accordingly the People elected S. Ælius Pætus and T. Quintius Flaminius Consuls : the latter was not quite thirty years of age : which is a

\* Sylla the dictator passed a law to prohibit standing for the Prætorship before the Quæstorship, and for the Consulship before the Prætorship. Appian. lib. 1. Bellor. Civil.

A. R. 553.  
Ant. C. 199.

farther remarkable singularity, but not a contravention to the laws. For the laws, which fixed the competent age for possessing the Curule offices, are posterior to these times. M. Porcius Cato was one of the Prætors, and had Sardinia for his province.

A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

SEX. ÆLIUS PETUS.

T. QUINTIUS FLAMINIVS.

*Distribu-  
tion of the  
provinces.*

Liv. xxxii.  
8.

*Ambassa-  
dors from  
Attalus  
demand*

*aid of the  
Senate  
against the  
incursions  
of Antio-  
chus King  
of Syria.*

Liv. Ibid.

The new Consuls having entered upon office, drew lots for the provinces. Italy fell to Ælius, and Macedonia to Quintius.

At the beginning of this year, Antiochus King of Asia attacked Attalus vigorously both by sea and land. The latter sent ambassadors to Rome, “ who  
“ represented to the Senate the extreme danger their  
“ master was in. They demanded in his name, ei-  
“ ther that the Romans would be pleased to defend  
“ him themselves, or that they would permit him  
“ to recall his fleet and troops. The Senate re-  
“ plied, that nothing was more reasonable than  
“ the demand of Attalus. That they could not  
“ afford him aid against Antiochus, who was  
“ their friend and ally : but that the King was  
“ at entire liberty to recall his fleet and troops.  
“ That the intention of the Roman People was  
“ not to be a burthen in any sort to their allies,  
“ and that they should not fail to acknowledge  
“ the services and zealous attachment of Attalus.  
“ That for the rest they should employ their good  
“ offices with Antiochus to induce him not to  
“ disturb King Attalus.” Accordingly the Ro-  
mans sent Ambassadors to Antiochus, to remon-  
strate to him “ that Attalus had lent them his  
“ troops and ships, which they then actually em-  
“ ployed against Philip their common enemy.  
“ That it would be highly agreeable to them, if  
“ he



“ he would leave their Prince in tranquility. A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.  
 “ That it seemed reasonable, that the Kings who  
 “ were the friends and allies of the Roman People  
 “ should live at peace with each other.” Antiochus, upon this remonstrance, immediately drew off his troops from the territories of Attalus

I have said that Macedonia had fallen by lot to Quintius. This, according to Plutarch, was much for the advantage of the Romans. For the affairs and enemies they had upon their hands, did not require a General, who would be for carrying every thing by arms and force, but rather, who knew how according to conjunctures, to employ gentle methods and persuasion. Accordingly King Philip could indeed raise sufficient numbers of men for some battles in his kingdom of Macedonia only, but it was Greece principally, that enabled him to sustain a long war, by supplying him with money, provisions, munitions, and retreats : in a word, it was the arsenal and magazine of his army. In consequence, till the Greeks could be separated from their alliance with Philip, this war could not be terminated by a single battle. Greece at this time was not accustomed to the Romans, and only begun to have some engagements with them. For this reason, if the General of the Romans had not been a mild and tractable man, more inclined to terminate differences by conferring, than by force, insinuating enough to persuade those to whom he spoke, sufficiently affable to hearken to their reasons with goodness and complacency, and always disposed to abate something even of his most legitimate pretensions, in order to accommodate things, Greece would not so easily have renounced an ancient engagement, to which she had been accustomed, for a foreign alliance. The sequel of Quintius’s actions will better shew the solidity of this reflexion. Wise reflexion of Plutarch upon the present war.  
Plut. in Flam. 369.

A. R. 534.  
Ant. C. 198.  
*Quintius*  
*sets out*  
*from Rome,*  
*and ar-*  
*rives at*  
*the army*  
*near Epi-*  
*rus.*  
Liv. xxxii.  
9.  
Plut. ibid.  
370.

Quintius having observed that the Generals who had been sent before him against Philip, as Sulpicius and Villius, had not entered Macedonia till the latter season, and had made war with little or no vigour, wasting time in slight skirmishes to force some passes, and carry off some convoys, he on the contrary was for making the best of his time, and for hastening his departure. Having therefore obtained of the Senate, that his brother Lucius should command the naval forces under him; out of the soldiers, who with Scipio at their head, had conquered the Carthaginians in Spain and Africa, and were still capable of the service, and full of desire to follow him, he chose about three thousand men. To these he added five thousand more, and with a body of eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, he went to Epirus, and by forced marches arrived at the Roman camp. He found Villius incamped before Philip's army, which had long guarded the passes and defiles, and kept that of the Romans at a stand.

*He resolves*  
*to attack*  
*Philip in*  
*the defiles,*  
*where he*  
*was in-*  
*trenched.*

The Consul after having taken upon him the command of the troops, and dismissed Villius, began by considering attentively the plan of the country. The only pass for approaching the enemy was a narrow way between high mountains and the river \* Aous, which runs at the bottom of those hills. That way, cut through the rock, was so narrow and steep, that an army could not pass it without great difficulty, though it were not defended; and with the least defence it seemed impracticable. Quintius assembled the council of war, to consult whether he should march directly against the enemy by the strait and shortest way,

\* *Plutarch calls it the Apfas, rises of the facts determines us to a river more to the north than follow Livy. the Aous. But the whole se-*

in order to attack them in their camp ; or whether abandoning an equally difficult and dangerous design, he should take a long compass, but without danger, in order to enter Macedonia by the country of the Dassaretæ. The council were divided in their opinions. Quintius was inclined to take the latter method. But, besides that so long a march would protract things too much, and give the King time to escape into the desarts and forests, as he had done before ; he was afraid to remove from the sea, from which he had his provisions. He therefore resolved to force the passes, whatever it might cost him, and prepared for this bold enterprize.

In the mean time, Philip having demanded an interview by the mediation of the People of Epirus, in order to consult upon the means of reconciliation and peace, Quintius made no difficulty to consent to it. The conferences were held upon the banks of the river Aous. They continued three days. The Consul offered the King peace and the alliance of the Romans, upon condition, that he would leave the Greeks at liberty, and in subjection only to their own laws ; and that he would withdraw his garrisons from their cities. This was the principal article. Several others were added to it, which required some time to discuss. When they examined what states were to have their liberty, the Consul named the Thessalians first. Thessalia, from the time of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, had always been in subjection to the Macedonians. The King in consequence was so much incensed by the Consul's proposal, that he cried out in a rage : *What harder terms could you impose upon me, Quintius, if you had conquered me ?* And he immediately broke up the conferences. It was then evident, and the most affected to Philip's party were obliged to

A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

*Interview  
of Quintius  
and Philip.  
Liv. xxxii.  
10.*



A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

own it, that the Romans were come to make war not against the Greeks, but against the Macedonians in favour of the Greeks, which gained them the hearts of the People.

*The Consul attacks Philip in his defiles.*  
Liv. xxxii. 11.

The conference having been without effect, it was necessary to proceed to force. The next day there was a very warm skirmish between the advanced guards. And as the Macedonians retired to their mountains by rough and steep paths, the Romans animated by the ardor of battle, being desirous to pursue them, suffered exceedingly; because the Macedonians had disposed *Catapultæ* and *Balistæ* upon those rocks, and showered darts and stones upon them. Many were wounded on both sides, and night separated the combatants.

*A shepherd discovers a way to Quintius for approaching the enemy.*  
Liv. ibid.  
Plut. in Flam. 370.

Affairs were in this situation, when a shepherd sent by Charopus, one of the principal persons of Epirus, who secretly favoured the Romans, came to the Consul. He told him, that he fed his flock in the defile, where the King was incamped with his troops: that he knew all the accessible parts and paths of those mountains: that if the Consul would send a detachment of soldiers along with him, he would guide them by secure and easy ways, where they would be over the heads of the enemy. Though Quintius was not absolutely without distrust, and his joy was mixed with some fear, however, struck with the name and authority of Charopus, he resolved to undertake the enterprise.

*Quintius defeats Philip, and obliges him to fly.*  
Liv. ibid.  
Plut. ibid. 371.

Accordingly he detached a Tribune with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. In the day, they lay hid in bottoms covered with wood, and as soon as night came, they marched on by the light of the moon, which happily was then at the full. The shepherd, of whom they had made sure by chaining him, directed the way it was necessary to keep. It had been agreed, that when

when the detachment arrived over the heads of the enemy, a signal should be given the Consul by smoke raised in the air : but that they should make no cries, till their signal was answered from him by another, that the battle with Philip was begun.

A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

To prevent the enemy from having any suspicion, he continued to harass them warmly, as if he intended to force them in their posts. The third day in the morning, Quintius perceived a smoke upon the top of the mountains, which at first was but small, but increasing gradually soon darkened the air, and rose in great clouds. Having then given the detachment the signal agreed upon, he marched directly against the eminence, continually exposed to the darts of the Macedonians, and in close fight with those, who defended the passes. The Romans raised great cries, in order to be heard by their companions who were upon the eminence. The latter answered from the top of the mountain with a dreadful noise, and at the same time charged the Macedonians, who seeing themselves attacked in front and rear, lost courage, and betook themselves to flight. Philip's army would have been entirely defeated, if the victors could have pursued them : but the cavalry was stopt by the difficulty of the ways, and the infantry by the weight of their arms. Philip fled at first with precipitation, and without looking behind him. But, after having made above a league and an half, judging, as it really was, that the difficulty of the ways had stopt the enemy, he halted upon an eminence, and sent officers into all the valley and to all the neighbouring mountains, to assemble such of his troops as had dispersed in flying. The victors finding the camp of the Macedonians deserted, plundered it entirely at

A. R. 554.  
ANL. C. 193.

their ease, and returned into their own, where they rested themselves during the night.

*The King  
overruns  
Thessaly in  
retiring  
into Mace-  
donia.*

Liv. xxxii.  
12, 13.  
Plut. 371.

Philip at first took the route of Thessalia, and hastily running from city to city in that province, he took away with him such of the inhabitants as were in a condition to follow him, set fire to the houses, and after having permitted the masters of them to take away such of their effects as they could, he gave all the rest to his troops; making his allies suffer a treatment they could scarce have apprehended from their enemies.

*Epirus and  
Thessaly  
submit to  
Quintius.*  
Liv. xxxii.  
24, 26.

Quintius Flaminius did not act in this manner. He crossed Epirus, without ravaging the country, though he knew that the principal persons of it, except Charopus, had been against the Romans. But, as they submitted quietly, he had more regard to their present disposition, than to the resentment he might have had for the past; which gained him the hearts of that people, and attached them to him out of inclination. He soon found how advantageous this mild and humane conduct was to him. For he no sooner arrived upon the frontiers of Thessalia, than most of the cities were eager to open their gates to him. Atrax was almost the only one, that did not surrender. It was very well fortified, and had a numerous garrison, entirely consisting of Macedonians. It made so long and so vigorous a resistance, that the Consul was at length obliged to raise the siege.

*Eretria  
and Ca-  
rystos taken*  
Liv. xxxii.  
25, 27.

The Roman fleet in the mean time, in conjunction with those of Attalus and the Rhodians, acted on their side. It took two of the principal cities of Eubæa, Eretria and Carystos, which were also garrisoned by Macedonians: after which the three fleets advanced to Cencheæ the port of Corinth.



The Consul having entered the country of Phocis, took several places, which made no great resistance. Elatia stopped him, and he was obliged to besiege it in form.

Whilst he was carrying on this siege, he formed an important design, which was to divide the Achæans from Philip's party, and to make them come over to that of the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of forming the siege of Corinth, of which Philip was then actually in possession. Nothing could give the Achæans more pleasure, than the cession of that great and important city to them. The Consul believed it proper to try them by that offer, and made it by the Ambassadors, Lucius his brother, those of Attalus, the Rhodians and the Athenians. The Achæans gave audience to all these Ambassadors in their assembly held at Sicyon.

The Achæans were highly perplexed in respect to the resolution they should take. Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, was a troublesome neighbour, who incommoded them extremely : But they dreaded the arms of the Romans more. They had in all times, and very lately, great obligations to the Macedonians : But they all suspected Philip on account of his perfidy and cruelty ; and they apprehended that the lenity he then affected, might degenerate into tyranny, as soon as he was rid of his difficulties. Such was the disposition of the Achæans, fluctuating between all parties, finding inconveniences on all sides, and not knowing how to determine any thing with safety.

L. Calpurnius, who came from the Romans, had audience first. After him the deputies from Attalus and the Rhodians were heard ; and then those from Philip. For that Prince had also sent an embassy to this assembly, the event of which gave him disquiet. The Athenians were reserved

A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.  
*Quintius*  
*besieges*  
*Elatia.*  
Ibid. 18.  
*Assembly of*  
*the Achæ-*  
*ans at*  
*Sicyon. The*  
*Ambassa-*  
*dors of the*  
*Romans*  
*and their*  
*allies, and*  
*of Philip,*  
*have au-*  
*dience in*  
*it. After*  
*long debates*  
*the assem-*  
*bly declares*  
*for the Ro-*  
*mans.*  
Liv. xxxii.  
19—23.

A. R. 554.  
- ANL. C. 198.

to the last, in order that they might be capable of refuting what Philip's Ambassadors might have advanced. They spoke with more force and liberty against that King than any of the rest, because none had been so ill treated as them, and they enumerated at large his many oppressions and cruelties. The conclusion of their harangue, as well as of the three that had been made before in the assembly, was to exhort the Achæans to join the Romans against Philip. The Ambassadors of that Prince, on the contrary, conjured the Achæans to regard the sacred nature of the oath they had taken on making an alliance with their master; or, if they would not declare openly for him, that they should at least observe an exact neutrality. These harangues took up the whole time of the assembly, which was adjourned to the next day.

When they were all met again, the herald, according to custom, in the name of the magistrates, exhorted such to speak, as had any thing to say. No body rose: but all, looking upon each other, kept a profound silence. Aristenes, who was principal magistrate of the Achæans, then spoke, that the assembly might not be dismissed without deliberating. *What is become, said he, of that warmth and vivacity, with which you dispute with each other at table and in private conversation concerning the Romans and Philip, with so much heat, as to be almost ready to come to blows? Why then are you now mute, in an assembly summoned solely on this subject, after having heard the speeches and reasonings on both sides? Will it be time enough to speak, when the resolution is taken and decreed?*

Such just and rational reproaches made by the principal magistrate, were so far from inducing any that were present to give their opinion, that they did not excite the least noise or murmuring in  
an

an assembly so numerous and composed of the deputies of so many States. They all continued mute and motionless, no body daring to hazard speaking freely on so delicate a point.

A. R. 554;  
Ant. C. 198;

Aristenes then, being obliged to open himself, declared frankly in favour of the Romans. *The manner, said he, in which the deputies of the opposite parties speak to us, suffices alone to direct us in the resolution we ought to take. The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus press us to join them in the war against Philip, and support their demand with strong reasons, deduced from the justice of their cause, and our own interest. Philip's Ambassador also demands, but weakly, that we should continue to adhere to their master, and he is contented with our observing an exact neutrality. From whence do you think proceeds so different a manner of acting? It is undoubtedly not from moderation on the side of Philip, nor rash boldness on that of the Romans. It is the knowledge of their strength, or weakness, that makes them speak differently. We see nothing here on the part of Philip but his Ambassador, which is no great encouragement for us. Whereas the Roman fleet lies at anchor near Cenchreæ, and the Consul is not far off with his legions.*

*What aid can we expect from Philip? Do we not see in what manner he defends his allies? Why has he suffered Eretria and Carystos? Why has he abandoned so many cities of Thessaly, as well as all Phocis and Locris? Why does he now suffer Elatia to be besieged? Is it through force, through fear, or voluntarily, that he hath abandoned the defiles of Epirus, and has given up those impenetrable barriers to the enemy, in order to hide himself in the remote parts of his kingdom? If he voluntarily gives up so many allies to the mercy of the enemy, ought he to prevent them from making such provision as they can for their own safety? If it be through fear, he ought to excuse  
the*



A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

*the same weakness in us. And if he is forced to do so, do you believe, Cleomeden, (which was the name of Philip's ambassador) that the forces of the Achæan States can sustain the Roman arms, to which the Macedonians have been forced to give way? Quintius having found Philip in an inaccessible post, hath driven him out of it, hath taken his camp, hath pursued him into Thessalia, and almost before his face hath taken all the strongest fortresses of his allies. If we are attacked, will the King be in a condition to support us against so formidable an enemy, or shall we be able to defend ourselves?*

*The medium proposed to us of continuing neuter is a certain means to render us the victor's prey, who will not fail to attack us, as cunning politicians, who wait the event for declaring ourselves. Believe me, Achæans: there is no medium. We must either have the Romans for friends, or enemies. They come of themselves with a numerous fleet to offer us their amity and aid. To refuse such an advantage, and not to seize with ardor so favourable an occasion, which will never return, is the last excess of blindness; it is consenting to our own destruction through mere wantonness, and without resource.*

This discourse was followed with a great noise and murmur of the whole assembly, some applauding it with joy, and others opposing it with violence. The magistrates themselves were no less divided: these were called *Demiurgi*. Five, of their number ten, declared, that they would bring the affair into deliberation: five protested against it, affirming, that the magistrates were prohibited by a law to propose any thing, as were the general assembly to decree any thing contrary to the alliance made with Philip.

This whole day passed also in debate, and tumultuous cries. Only one remained: for the law ordained, that the assembly should break up at  
the

the end of the third day. Such violent debates arose upon what should be determined the next day, that fathers could scarce keep their hands off their sons. Memnon of Pellena was one of the five magistrates, who refused to make the report. His father long desired and conjured him, to suffer the Achæans to provide for their safety, and not to expose them by his obstinacy to certain ruin. Finding his intreaties ineffectual, he swore that he would kill him with his own hand, if he did not take his advice, and should consider him not as his son, but as the enemy of his country. Memnon could not withstand such terrible menaces, and at length suffered himself to be overcome by paternal authority.

The next day, the majority being for bringing the affair into deliberation, and the people openly declaring what they thought, the Dymæi, Magalopolitans, and some of the Argives, quitted the assembly before the decree passed. No body was surprized, or took offence, at it, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who, very lately, had done them considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue of all ages and nations, and ingratitude is universally detested. All the other States, when they came to vote, immediately confirmed by a decree, an alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and as to what regarded the alliance with the Romans, as it could not be concluded without the authority of the Roman Senate and People, it was resolved, that an embassy should be sent to Rome in order to terminate that affair.

In the mean time, three deputies were dispatched to L. Quintius, who was then besieging Corinth, after having made himself master of Cenchreæ; and at the same time the army of the Achæans was sent to join him in carrying on the siege. At first the attack was weak enough, because it

A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

*Lucius, the Consul's brother, forms the siege of Corinth, and is obliged to raise it.*

Liv. xxxii.

was 23.

A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

was hoped, that there would be a division in the city between the garrison and the inhabitants. But when they found that did not take place, machines were made to approach on all sides, and different attacks were formed, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and in which the Romans were always repulsed. There were a great number of Italian deserters in Corinth, who expecting no quarter from the Romans, if they fell into their hands, fought like men in despair. Philocres, Philip's General, having made a new reinforcement enter the city, and thereby having deprived the besiegers of all hopes of carrying the place, L. Quintius was at length obliged to give into the advice of Attalus. The siege was raised. The Achæans being dismissed, Attalus and the Romans reimarked on board their fleets. The former repaired to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

*The Consul  
takes Elate-*

*tea.*  
Liv. xxxii.  
24.

Whilst the fleets attacked Corinth, the Consul T. Quintius was employed in besieging Elatea, where he was more successful. For, after a long and vigorous defence, he made himself master first of the city, and then of the citadel.

*Philocres  
takes Ar-*

*gos.*  
Liv. xxxii.  
25.

At the same time, the people of Argos, who continually adhered to Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philocres, the officer of whom we have just spoke. Thus notwithstanding the alliance, which the Achæans had lately made with the Romans, Philip was master of two of their strongest places, Corinth and Argos.

*Affairs of  
Gaul.*

Liv. xxxii.  
26.

The Consul Sex. Ælius did nothing considerable in Gaul. He passed almost the whole Year in drawing together the inhabitants of Cremona and Placentia, whom the calamities of the war had dispersed, and to reinstate them in their colonies.

A con-



A conspiracy, formed first at \* Setia by the slaves of the young Carthaginian Lords, who were kept there as hostages, whom a considerable number of other slaves had joined, gave Rome some alarm. But the conspiracy was discovered, and suppressed that instant.

A. A. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.  
*Conspiracy of the slaves discovered and suppressed.*

This year, Ambassadors from King Attalus brought to Rome a crown of gold weighing two hundred and forty six pounds, and thanked the Senate for having vouchsafed to send Ambassadors to Antiochus, at whose instances that Prince had quitted the dominions of Attalus.

*Crown of gold sent to Rome by Attalus. Ibid. 27.*

Cato was then one of the Prætors, and had Sardinia for his province. He acted in it in such a manner, as made his disinterestedness, sobriety, patience in the rudest toils, incredible remoteness from the least shadow of pomp and luxury, and love of justice, universally admired. The Prætors, his predecessors, had ruined the country by making it supply them with pavillions, beds, and habits, and sheered the people, by numerous trains of domesticks, crouds of friends, and excessive expences in games, feasts, and the like extravagances. Cato, on the contrary, distinguished himself only by an unexampled simplicity in his habit, table, and equipage. He never touched a single farthing of the publick money. When he went to visit the cities of his government, it was on foot, without any carriages, attended only by one officer, who carried his robe and a vessel for making libations at sacrifices. This man so simple, and modest, and so negligent of his outside, resumed the grave and majestic air of a Roman magistrate, and shewed inexorable constancy and inflexible rigor, when the question was to check disorders, and put in execution the regulations

*Cato Prætor in Sardinia. His severity and character. Plut. in Caton. 339. Liv. xxxii. 27.*

\* *A city of the Volsci,*

A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

established for maintaining good discipline and the laws. In him two characters, that seemed irreconcilable, were united, severity and mildness ; so that never had the Roman power appeared either so terrible or so amiable to that people.

Sardinia abounded with usurers, who, under the appearance of assisting private persons with sums of money, lent them on their occasions, utterly ruined them in the effect. Cato made open war against them, and drove them all out of the island. I do not see why Livy seems to judge Cato too severe in this respect. *M. Portius Cato, sanctus & innocens, asperior tamen in fœnore coercendo habitus, fugatique ex insula fœneratores.* Can people, who are the bane and ruin of States, be treated with too much rigour ? Would to God, that criminal number of usurers, who support young persons of birth in extravagance and debauchery, were banished for ever from our cities and country !

Suffer me, before I proceed to relate the events of the ensuing year, to insert in this place some strokes highly proper to shew us Cato's character. These circumstances are not imitable in themselves, and may seem to have something excessive in them, but they are worthy admiration in the principle, from which they proceed, that is, the love of simplicity, sobriety, and of an hard and laborious life.

Plut. in  
Cat. 338.

In some of his works he himself wrote, that he had never worn a robe that cost above an hundred drachmas : (about fifty shillings) that even when he commanded armies, or was Consul, he drank the same wine as his slaves : that at his meals (the Romans had but one a day) he never had any thing bought at market that cost above thirty *asses*, that is about a shilling of our money. And his view in leading this hard and sober life, was to confirm

confirm his health, enable him the better to serve his country, and to sustain the fatigues of war with the more ease. A. R. 554.  
Ant. C. 198.

On marches, he always went on foot, carrying his arms, and attended by a single slave, who carried his provisions. And it is said, that he was never angry or out of humour with that slave, about whatever he served him at his meals, but, when he had leisure, after having discharged his military functions, that he often assisted him in dressing his supper. In the army he never drank any thing but water, except sometimes when being very dry he called for a \* little vinegar; or when finding himself weak through fatigue, he drank a little wine. Ibid. 336.

One day blaming the excessive expences, which at that time some began to lavish on their tables, he said: *That it was very difficult to preserve a city, in which a fish was sold for more than an ox.* Every body knows, the excessive luxury and expence of the Romans for fish in particular.

Whilst he commanded the army, he never took from the public more than three *medimni* of wheat a month for himself and his whole household, that is not quite thirteen bushels, and something less than three *semi-medimni* of oats or barley daily for his horses and carriage-beasts.

\* *Vinegar is refreshing. All the Roman soldiers carried it with them to correct the crudities of the water they were obliged to drink, sometimes bad enough.*



## S E C T. III.

*Six Prætors created for the first time. The command in Macedonia is continued to Quintius. Interview between King Philip and the Consul Quintius and his allies, all ineffectual. Philip abandons Argos to Nabis tyrant of Sparta. Alliance of Nabis with the Romans. The Bæotians also join them. Death of Attalus. Praise of that Prince. Battle of Cynoscephalæ, in which Philip is defeated by Quintius. Insolent vanity of the Ætolians. Quintius grants Philip a truce and an interview. The allies deliberate concerning a peace. Interview of Philip and Quintius. A peace is concluded in it. The victory gained over Philip occasions great joy at Rome. The plan of the peace sent by Quintius, is approved. Ten commissioners are deputed to regulate the affairs of Greece. Conditions of the treaty of peace. The Ætolians secretly cry down this treaty. The articles of it are made public at the Isthmian games. The Greeks hear the news of their liberty with incredible joy. Reflections upon this great event. Quintius visits the cities of Greece. Cornelius one of the ten commissioners goes from Tempe, where he had conferred with the King, to the city of Thermæ, in which the assembly of the Ætolians was held.*

A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 197.

C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

*Six Prætors created for the first time.*  
Liv. xxxii.  
27.

**S**IX Prætors were nominated this year for the first time, on account of the augmentation of the provinces, and the increase of the empire. Of these six magistrates, two were appointed to administer justice in the city: the one between citizens and citizens, the other between citizens and strangers.

strangers. The four others had the government of the provinces, Sicily, Sardinia, Hispania Citerior, and Hispania Ulterior.

After lots had determined the provinces of the Prætors, the Consuls prepared to draw for Italy and Macedonia, when L. Oppius and Q. Fulvius, Tribunes of the People, opposed it. They remonstrated, “ That Macedonia being a province remote from Rome, nothing had been more prejudicial to the war made in it, than injudiciously recalling the Consul charged with it, who had a successor sent him, when he had hardly received the informations necessary to his success upon the spot. That this was the fourth year since the beginning of this war. That Sulpi- cius had passed the greatest part of his Consul- ship in quest of Philip and his army. That Villius had been reduced to depart, when he had almost joined the enemy. That Quintius, after having been detained at Rome the greatest part of the year by affairs of Religion, had however acted in such a manner, that it was easy to judge, if he had arrived sooner in his province, or winter had permitted him to stay longer in it, that he could have entirely terminated the war; and that he was actually preparing to begin it again in the spring, so as to give room to hope, that if a successor was not sent him, he would put an happy end to it the ensuing campaign.” The new Consuls having heard these remonstrances of the Tribunes, promised, that they would submit to the decision of the Senate, provided, that the Tribunes would do the same. They consented; and the Senators in consequence gave the two Consuls Italy for their province, and continued to Quintius the command in Macedonia, till he should be relieved. We

A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 197.  
*The com-  
mand in  
Macedonia  
is continued  
to Quin-  
tius.  
Liv. xxxii.  
28.*

A. R. 555. have here a dispute begun and ended with great  
 Ant. C. 197. wisdom and moderation.

*Inter-*

*views*

*between*

*King Phi-*

*lip and*

*the Consul*

*Quintius*

*with his*

*allies: all*

*ineffectual.*

*Liv. xxxii.*

*32—37.*

*Polyb. xvii*

*742—752*

After the taking of Elatea, the Consul Quintius had already distributed his troops into winter quarters in the countries of Phocis and Locris, when Philip sent an herald to him to demand an interview. He made no difficulty to grant it, because he did not know yet, what had been resolved at Rome concerning him, and a conference would leave him at liberty either to carry on the war, if he were continued in the command, or to dispose things for a peace, in case a successor were sent him. The conference was held upon the sea side near Nicæa a city of Locris, not far from Thermopylæ. Philip, who had repaired thither by sea from Demetrias, did not quit his ship. He had several Macedonian Lords, and Cycliades an Achæan exile, with him. The Roman General was arrived upon the shore, accompanied by Amynter King of the Athamantes, and some deputies from all the allies. After some disputes concerning the ceremonial, Quintius made his proposals, and each of the allies their respective demands. Philip replied; and as he began to fly out against the Ætolians, Phineas their magistrate interrupted him by saying: *The question now is not about words. It is either to conquer in arms, or to yield to the strongest.* Philip retorted, *That's a clear case even to a blind man,* with design to deride Phineas, whose eyes were bad. (a) Philip was naturally addicted to raillery, and could not forbear it even in the most serious affairs: which is a great fault in a Prince.

This first interview having passed in altercation, they met again the next day. Philip came very

(a) Erat dicacior natura, ter seria quidem risu satis tem-  
 quem regem decet, & ne in...perans. *Liv.*...



late to the place agreed upon. All the reason he gave for his delay was, “ that he had passed the whole day in deliberating upon the hardship of the laws imposed upon him, without knowing what to determine.” But it was conjectured with probability enough, that his design thereby was to deprive the Ætolians, and the Achæans of time to answer him. And this he confirmed, by demanding that, to avoid losing time in barren disputes, the conference should pass between the Roman General and him. This was not granted him without difficulty. They accordingly discoursed apart. Quintius having related to the allies the proposals made by the King, none of them approved them ; and they were upon the point of breaking up all farther conference, when Philip demanded, that the decision should be deferred till the next day, promising that he would come into their reasons, if he did not make them relish his. At the next meeting he earnestly intreated Quintius and the allies not to oppose a peace, and confined himself to asking time for sending ambassadors to Rome, engaging to accept such proposals as the Senate should think fit to impose, in case his own should not be deemed sufficient. So reasonable a demand could not be refused him, and a truce for two months was concluded, on condition however, that his garrisons should evacuate the places he held in Locris and Phocis. Ambassadors on both sides were sent to Rome.

When they arrived, those of the allies were first heard. They gave a loose to invectives against Philip. But what struck the Senate most, was their observing and evidently proving by the situation of the places, that, if the King of Macedonia retained Demetrias in Thessalia, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, cities which he

A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 197.

himself called in terms no less true than injurious, *the fetters of Greece* ; Greece never could enjoy liberty. The King's ambassadors were afterwards called in. As they began a vast discourse, they were stopt short by being asked, whether they would cede those three cities or no. Upon their answering that they had received neither orders nor instructions upon that head, they were dismissed without obtaining any thing. It was left to Quintius, to whom the command in Macedonia had been continued, as we have said, either to make peace or carry on the war, as he should judge most expedient. He rightly comprehended from thence that the Senate was not averse to its being continued ; and for his own part, he was much more desirous of terminating the war by a victory than by a treaty of Peace. In consequence he granted Philip no farther interviews, and caused him to be told, that he would hearken to no proposals from him, except he previously agreed to abandon all Greece.

*Philip  
abandons  
Argos to  
Nabis ty-  
rant of  
Sparta.  
Liv. xxxii.  
38.*

Philip therefore turned his whole thoughts entirely on the war. As he could not easily keep the cities of Achaia on account of their great distance, he judged it proper to put Argos into the hands of Nabis Tyrant of Sparta, but as a mere deposit, to be restored to him, in case he should have the advantage in this war, and to remain to Nabis if the reverse should happen. Nabis was introduced into the city in the night, and treated the inhabitants like a true tyrant, exercising every kind of violence and cruelty upon them.

*Alliance  
of Nabis  
with the  
Romans.  
Liv. xxxii.  
39.*

The tyrant soon forgot from whom and upon what condition he held that city. He sent deputies to Quintius and Attalus, to let them know, that he was in possession of Argos, and to invite them to an interview, in which he was in hopes that they would easily agree upon the conditions of  
a treaty

a treaty of alliance which he was desirous to make with them. His proposal was accepted. The Proconsul and the King of Pergamus in consequence repaired towards Argos. They had an interview. The Romans demanded, that Nabis should furnish them troops, and cease to make war against the Achæans. The tyrant granted the first article, but would consent only to a truce with the Achæans for four months. The treaty was concluded upon these conditions. This alliance with a tyrant, so notorious for his perfidy and cruelties as Nabis, is not much for the glory of the Romans. But in times of war, some think all advantages ought to be taken, even at the expence of honour and equity.

When the spring returned, Quintius and Attalus conceived thoughts of securing the Alliance of the Bœotians, who had hitherto been uncertain and fluctuating. They accordingly went with some deputies of the allies to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place, where their general assembly was held. Antiphilus, the principal magistrate favoured and supported them underhand. The Bœotians believed at first, that they came without troops or an escorte, because they had left them at some distance behind them. They were surprized when they saw, that Quintius had caused a sufficiently considerable detachment to follow him, and judged that they should have no freedom in the assembly. It was summoned for the next day. They concealed their surprize and grief, which it would have been useless and even dangerous to have shewn.

Attalus spoke first, and expatiated upon the services, which his ancestors and himself had rendered to all Greece, and in particular to the republic of Bœotia. Indulging his zeal for the Romans too warmly, and expressing himself with



A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 197.

more vehemence than suited his age, he fainted, and fell down half dead in the midst of his harangue (it was a fit of the palsy) and it was necessary to carry him out of the assembly ; which interrupted the deliberation for some time. Aristenes, Prætor of the Achæans, spoke next, and his discourse was the more capable of making impression, as he gave the Bœotians no other counsel, than he had before given the Achæans themselves. After him, Quintius said some few words, in which he insisted more upon the justice and faith of the Romans, than upon their arms and power. The assembly after proceeded to vote, and an alliance with the Romans was unanimously concluded, no body daring to oppose it, or attempt an useless resistance.

Quintius continued some time at Thebes, to see the event of Attalus's illness. When he found, that it was a confirmed palsy, which did not menace that Prince with immediate death, he returned to Elatea. Well pleased with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, by which he had secured himself from enemies behind, he devoted all his cares and endeavours against Macedonia.

*Death of  
Attalus.*

*Praise of  
that*

*Prince.*

*Polyb. in  
Excerpt.*

*F. 101,*

*102.*

*Liv. xxxiii.*

*21.*

As soon as Attalus's strength would admit, he was carried to Pergamus, where he died soon after at the age of seventy two, of which he had reigned forty four years. Polybius observes, that Attalus was not like most men, with whom great fortunes are usually the occasion of great vices and irregularities. The generous and magnificent use he made of his riches, tempered with prudence, gave him the means of augmenting his dominions, and adorning himself with the title of King. He thought himself rich only for others, and was convinced, that it was putting out his money at a  
very

very large and legitimate interest, to employ it in acts of beneficence, and in purchasing friends. He governed his subjects with great justice, and always observed an inviolable fidelity in respect to his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father, and in all things discharged every duty of the Prince and the Man. He left four sons: Eumenes, Attalus, Phileterus, and Athenæus. He had taken great care of their education, and had been particularly attentive to establish a tender and sincere unity between them, which is the strongest support of great houses. Polybius observes as a very extraordinary felicity in the families of Princes, that the brothers of Eumenes, who succeeded Attalus, far from exciting any troubles during his reign, very much contributed to secure its peace and tranquillity. The taste for letters and sciences prevailed much in the court of Pergamus. Attalus had caused the garden, where Lacydes, the disciple and successor of Arcesilaus, gave his lessons, to be adorned and embellished in the academy at Athens, a famous place, as every body knows, from the philosophers who taught there with great reputation. He invited that philosopher to his court. But Lacydes answered him with a frankness truly philosophical, that Princes, were like paintings, which, in order to be esteemed, frequently require to be seen only at a distance. I have spoken elsewhere of the famous Library of Pergamus.

The armies on both sides, had began their march in order to come to blows and to terminate the war by a battle. They were very near equal in number, each consisting of five or six and twenty thousand men. The officers and soldiers on both sides ardently desired to come to blows. The nearer the day of battle approached, the more their courage and ambition increased. The

A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 197.

Strab. xiii.  
623—625

Polyb. in  
Excerpt.  
169.

Diog. La-  
ert in  
Lacyde.

Anc. Hist.  
Vol. IX.

*Battle of  
Cynosce-  
phalæ, in  
which  
Philip is  
defeated  
by quin-  
tius.*

Polyb.  
xvii.  
754—762  
Liv. xxxiii.

3—11.  
Plut. in  
Flamin.  
372, 373.  
Justin.

A. R. 555.  
A.D. C. 197.

Romans thought, that if they were victorious over the Macedonians, whose name the victories of Alexander had rendered so famous, nothing could be added to their glory : and the Macedonians flattered themselves, that if they overcame the Romans, who were so much superior to the Persians, they should render the name of Philip more famous and more glorious than that of Alexander himself. Quintius advanced into Thessalia, where he was informed, that the enemy were also arrived. But not knowing exactly yet where they were incamped, he ordered his troops to cut wood for palisades, and to enable him to fortify his camp wherever it should be necessary. It is in this place, that Polybius, and after him Livy, compare the palisades of the Romans with those of the Greeks. This digression may be seen in the Eighth Volume of the ancient history.

Quintius soon after approached near the Macedonian army, and marched against it at the head of all his troops. After some slight skirmishes, in which the Ætolian cavalry distinguished themselves, and had always the advantage, the two armies halted near \* Scotusa. The night before the battle, great rains fell with thunder, so that the next morning, the weather was so overcast and dark, that the troops could scarce see objects at the distance of two paces. Philip sent out a detachment with orders to seize the eminences called *Cynoscephalæ*, that separated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius also detached ten squadrons of cavalry, and about a thousand light-armed soldiers to view the enemy, recommending it strongly to them to take care of ambuscades, on account of the obscurity of the weather. This

\* *A city of Pelasgia a province of Thessalia, near Larissa.*



detachment met that of the Macedonians, who had seized the eminences. This rencounter surprised at first : but both parties soon began to try each other. Both sent to apprise the Generals of what passed. The Romans ill-led dispatched couriers to demand aid. Quintius sent immediately Archedamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians, and with them two tribunes, each with a thousand foot and five hundred horse, who joining the first, soon changed the face of the battle. On the side of the Macedonians, valour was not wanting : but, overwhelmed by the weight of their armour, which was only proper for a standing fight, they saved themselves by flying to the eminences, and from thence sent to demand aid of the King.

Philip, who had detached part of his army to forage, being informed of the danger in which his first troops were, and seeing, that the weather began to clear up, made Heraclides set out, who commanded the Thessalian cavalry, with Leon, under whom were that of the Macedonians, and Athenagoras, who had the foreign and mercenary troops, except the Thracians, under him. When this reinforcement joined the first detachment, the Macedonians resumed courage, returned to the charge, and in their turn drove the Romans from the eminences. The victory would even have been compleat, but for the resistance of the Ætolian cavalry, that fought with astonishing valour and boldness. These were the best horse of the Greeks, especially in parties and rencounters. It sustained the charge and impetuosity of the Macedonians in such a manner, that it prevented the Romans from being put to the rout. They abandoned the hills, but made their retreat without disorder or confusion.

A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 199.

Courier after courier came to Philip, who cried out, that the Romans fled with terror, and that the moment for defeating them entirely was come. Neither the weather nor the place pleased Philip. The hills on which they fought, were steep, broken in different places, and very high. However he could not refuse himself to these repeated cries, nor to the instances of the army, who earnestly demanded to fight, and he made them quit their intrenchments. The Proconsul did the same on his side, and drew up his army in battle.

Both Generals, in this decisive moment, animated their troops by the most affecting motives. “ Philip represented to his, that the Persians, “ Bactrians, Indians, all Asia, and the whole “ East had been subdued by their victorious “ arms, adding that they must now fight with “ more valour, as the question here was not for “ sovereignty, but for liberty, more dear and “ precious to the brave than the empire of the “ whole world. The Proconsul set before his “ soldiers eyes their own still recent victories.” On the one side Sicily and Carthage, on the other Italy and Spain subjected to the Romans ; and, to say all in one word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, undoubtedly equal, perhaps superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms ; and, what ought still more to encourage them, the same Philip, against whom they were going to fight, conquered more than once by themselves, and obliged to fly before them.

(a) Animated by such discourses these soldiers, who on the one side called themselves the conquerors,

(a) His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio glori-

ors of the East, and the other the conquerors of the West, both haughty, the former from the ancient glory of their forefathers, and the latter from their own trophies and victories newly gained, prepared for the battle. Flamininus, having commanded his right wing not to stir from their post, placed the elephants in its front, and advancing with a bold and assured air, led on his left wing in person against the enemy. As soon as the Roman troops, who had been obliged to quit the eminences, perceived their General and his army, they renewed the fight, and falling upon the enemy, forced them a second time to give way.

Philip then advanced hastily to the top of the hills with his soldiers armed with round shields, and the left wing of his phalanx, and gave Nicanor, one of the principal lords of his court, orders to follow him immediately with the rest of his troops. When he arrived at the top of the eminence, he perceived some dead bodies, and some arms left there by the Romans; from whence he judged, that the troops had fought, and the Romans been defeated there, and that they were now at blows near their camp. This sight gave him extreme joy. But soon after seeing his own troops flying in effect of the change occasioned by the Proconsul's arrival, he was in suspense for some time, whether he should not make his troops re-enter the camp. However as the Romans continually approached, and his first detachment, obliged to fly before the enemy, who pursued them, could not fail of being cut to pieces if he did not go to their aid; and lastly, that it was not easy for himself to retreat without great hazard,

gloriantes, ferentesque in bellum, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem. *Justin.*  
tquam & obsoletam gloriam, xxx. 4.

he



A. R. 555.  
Aul. C. 197.

he found himself reduced to come to blows, before the rest of his army had joined him.

The King having rallied those that fled, formed his right with the soldiers with round shields, and part of his phalanx ; and to prevent their being broke, he lessened his front one half in order to double his ranks, giving it much more depth than breadth ; and at the same time he ordered them to close up so as to touch each other, and to march against the enemy, presenting their pikes. Quintius had also at the same time taken those into his spaces, who had charged the Macedonians first.

When they came to charge, both sides raised dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had visibly entirely the advantage. The higher ground from whence it fought in falling impetuously upon the Romans, the weight of their order of battle, the excellency of their arms, all combined to give them a great superiority. The Romans could not sustain the charge of these troops, in close order and covered with their bucklers, their front presenting a barrier of pikes. They were therefore obliged to give way.

It was not the same with Philip's left wing, which were then only just come up. It could hardly draw up in phalanx ; its ranks being broke and separated by the risings and unevenness of the ground. Quintius, seeing no other remedy for the disadvantage his left wing had sustained, went immediately to his right, and first made his elephants move on against this ill-drawn up phalanx, which had but a bad aspect, and then charged it in person with his quite fresh troops ; convinced, that if he could break and put it in disorder it would draw the other wing after it though victorious. It happened as he expected. This wing, not being able to support itself in phalanx,  
or

or to double its ranks to give itself depth, in which the whole force of the Macedonian order of battle consisted, was entirely dispersed. A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 197.

On this occasion a Tribune, who had not above twenty companies with him, made a movement, which very much contributed to the victory. Seeing that Philip at a great distance from the rest of his army, was vigorously pursuing the left wing of the Romans, he quitted the right wing, which was already entirely victorious, and without consulting any thing but his own opinion, and the present disposition of the armies, he marched towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, arrived in its rear, and charged it with all his forces. Now the condition of the phalanx was such, thro' the excessive length of its pikes and the closeness of its ranks, that it could neither face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The Tribune in consequence broke forwards continually, killing all as he advanced; and the Macedonians not being able to defend themselves, threw down their arms, and fled. The disorder was the greater, as the Roman troops, who had given way, had rallied, and came on at the same time to attack the phalanx in front.

Philip judging at first of the rest of the battle from the advantage he had gained on his side, believed his victory compleat. When he saw his soldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans charging them in the rear, he removed a little from the field of battle with a body of troops, and from thence viewed the general state of things. Perceiving the Romans, who pursued his left wing, were almost at the top of the mountains, he drew together as many of the Macedonians and Thracians as he could, and sought his safety in flight.

After

A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 197.

After the battle, in which victory had declared on all sides in favour of the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he stopped to wait for those who had escaped from the defeat. He had taken the wise precaution of sending orders to Larissa to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have it in their power to distress any of his friends. The Romans pursued those who fled for some time. The Ætolians were taxed with having occasioned Philip's escape. For instead of pursuing him, they amused themselves with plundering his camp : so that the Romans, when they returned from the pursuit, found hardly any thing in it. Very warm reproaches passed on both sides, and on this occasion the animosity of the two nations against each other first broke out.

The next day, after having set apart the prisoners and the rest of the spoils, the army marched for Larissa. The loss of the Romans in this battle, was only about seven hundred men. The Macedonians lost thirteen thousand, of which eight thousand were left dead in the field, and five thousand taken prisoners. So ended the battle of Cynoscephalæ.

On the occasion of this battle, Polybius makes a digression upon the Macedonian phalanx, of which he shews the advantages and inconveniences. The reader may see it in the VIth Volume of the Antient History.

*Vanity and  
insolence of  
the Ætoli-  
ans.*

Polyb. in  
excerpt.  
legat. 788.  
Liv. xxxiii.  
11.

The Ætolians had undoubtedly distinguished themselves in this battle, and not a little contributed to the victory. But they had the vanity, or rather the insolence, to ascribe it solely to themselves to the prejudice of Quintius and the Romans. An inscription in verse, composed to that effect by Alcæus, a poet of those times, spread this report throughout Greece. Quintius, before disgusted by the impatient avidity, with which the Ætolians



Ætolians had fallen upon the plunder without staying for the Romans, was still more offended by such injurious discourses, that affected him personally. From thenceforth he behaved very coldly in respect to them, and communicated nothing to them of the public affairs; affecting on all occasions to mortify their pride.

Some days after the battle, Ambassadors came from Philip to Quintius, who was at Larissa, under pretext of asking a truce for burying the dead, but in reality to obtain an interview of him. The Proconsul granted both, and added politeness for the King, in saying, *that he might hope the best.* The Ætolians were extremely offended at those words. As they had little knowledge of the Roman character, and judged of it from their own, they imagined, that Flaminius was inclined to favour Philip, only because the latter had corrupted him with presents, and because that General, the most disinterested that ever was, and the least capable of being allured by sordid gain, designed to enrich himself by the King's liberality.

The Proconsul had granted the King a truce of fifteen days, and had agreed upon the day they were to confer together. But, in the mean time, he summoned the assembly of the allies, to communicate to them the conditions upon which he believed peace might be granted him. Aminander, King of the Athamantes, who spoke first, without entering into long arguments, said, “that the war was to be terminated in such a manner, that Greece, in the absence of the Romans, might be in a condition to preserve the peace, and to defend its liberty with its own arms.”

Alexander the Ætolian spoke next, and said, “That if the Proconsul imagined, that by making a treaty with Philip, he should obtain either a solid and lasting peace for the Romans, or  
“ per-

A. R. 555.

Ant. C. 197.

Quintius

grants

Philip a

truce and

an inter-

view.

Polyb. ib.

789.

Liv. xxxiii.

12.

Delibera-

tion of the

allies con-

cerning the

peace.

Polyb. ib.

Liv. xxxiii.

12.

A. R. 555. “ permanent liberty for the Greeks, he deceived  
 Ant. C. 197. “ himself. That the sole means to put an end to  
 “ the war with the Macedonians, was to dethrone  
 “ Philip. That the thing was now very easy,  
 “ provided they took the advantage of the occa-  
 “ sion that now offered.”

Quintius, addressing himself to Alexander, said,  
*You know neither the character of the Romans, my  
 views, nor the interests of the Greeks. It is not the  
 custom of the Romans, when they have made war  
 with a Prince, and overcome him, to ruin him en-  
 tirely: Hannibal and the Carthaginians, are a good  
 proof of this. As for me, it never was my design to  
 make an irreconcilable war with Philip. I always  
 was inclined to grant him peace, as soon as he should  
 submit to the conditions, that should be imposed upon  
 him. yourselves, Ætolians, in the assemblies which  
 have been held upon this subject, never mentioned de-  
 priving Philip of his kingdom. Ought victory to in-  
 spire us with such a design? How unworthy is such  
 a sentiment! When an enemy attacks us in arms, it  
 is just to repel him with haughtiness and vigour. But,  
 when we have beat him down, it is the victor's duty  
 to shew moderation, lenity, humanity. As to the  
 Greeks, it is of consequence to them, I confess, for  
 the kingdom of Macedonia to be less powerful than  
 heretofore: but it is no less important to them, that it  
 should not be entirely destroyed. It is a barrier for  
 them against the Thracians, Illyrians and \* Gauls,  
 without which, as has frequently happened, all those  
 Barbarians would not fail to make irruptions into  
 Greece.*

Flaminius concluded with saying, that his o-  
 pinion and that of the assembly was, if Philip pro-  
 mised faithfully to observe all that had before been  
 prescribed him by the allies, that he should be

\* Many Gauls had settled in the countries adjacent to Thrace.

granted peace, after the Roman Senate should be consulted ; and that the Ætolians might take such resolution in the case, as they should judge proper. Pheneas, Prætor of the Ætolians representing with warmth, “ that Philip, if he escaped “ the present danger, would soon form new projects, and give occasion for a new war :” *That’s my affair*, replied the Proconsul ; *I shall take care that it shall not be in his power to undertake any thing against us.*

The next day Philip arrived at the place of interview ; and three days after, Quintius, with all the deputies of the allies, gave the King audience, who spoke with so much prudence and wisdom, that he prejudiced every one in his favour. He said, “ That he accepted and would execute all “ that the Romans and the allies had prescribed at “ the last interview ; and that as to the rest, he “ should refer it entirely to the discretion of the “ Senate.” On these words ensued a profound silence of approbation in the council. Only the Ætolian Pheneas still made some weak difficulties, to which no regard was had.

For the rest, what induced Flamininus to forward the conclusion of the peace, was the news he had received, that Antiochus actually meditated entering Europe with an army. He was afraid, that Philip, through the hope of receiving a considerable aid from that Prince, might determine to confine himself to the defence of his fortresses, and thereby protract the war. Besides which he was sensible, that if another General should come to take his place, that the whole honour of this war would be ascribed to him. For which reason he granted the King a truce for four months, ordered him to pay four hundred talents immediately, took Demetrius his son with some of the great Lords of his court as hostages, and permitted



A. R. 555.  
Ant. C. 197. him to send to Rome to receive the decision of his fate from the Senate. Quintius promised the King, that if the peace did not take effect, he would restore the talents and hostages. After this, all parties concerned sent Ambassadors to Rome, some to sollicite peace, and others to oppose it.

L. FURIUS PURPUREO.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A. R. 556.  
Ant. C. 196.

*Victory  
over Phi-  
lip occa-  
sions great  
joy at  
Rome.  
Liv. xxxiii  
24.*

It was under these new Consuls letters were received at Rome from Quintius, with the particulars of the victory gained over Philip. They were read first in the Senate, and then before the People; and public thanksgivings were decreed during five days to the gods, for the protection they had granted the Romans in the war of Macedonia.

*The plan of  
peace sent  
by Quint-  
ius to  
Rome, is  
approv'd.  
Ten com-  
missioners  
are deputed  
to regulate  
the affairs  
of Greece.  
Lib. ibid.  
Polyb. ib.  
795.*

Some days after arrived the Ambassadors, to treat of the peace proposed to be made with the King of Macedonia. The affair was discussed in the Senate. The Ambassadors made long discourses in it, each according to their respective views and interests: but at length the opinion for peace prevailed. The same affair being laid before the People, the Consul Marcellus, who passionately desired to command the army in Greece, used his utmost endeavours, that the plan of peace might be rejected: but he could not succeed. The People approved the Scheme of Flamininus, and ratified the conditions. The Senate then nominated ten of the most illustrious of their body to go and regulate the affairs of Greece in concert with the Proconsul, and to secure the liberty of the Greeks.

The Achæans in the same assembly, demanded to be admitted into the number of the allies of the  
Roman

Roman People. This affair, that had some difficulties, was referred to the ten commissioners. A. R. 556.  
Ant. C. 196.

A commotion had happened amongst the Boeotians between the partisans of Philip, and those of the Romans, which was carried to violent excesses on both sides. But it had no consequences, having been appeased by the Proconsul, who applied a speedy remedy to it.

The ten commissioners set out from Rome to regulate the affairs of Greece, and soon arrived there. The following are the principal conditions of the treaty of peace which they settled in concert with Quintius. *Conditions of the treaty of peace.*  
Polyb. ib. 795.  
Liv. xxxiii 30.

“ That all the \* other Grecian cities as well in Asia as Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws.

“ That Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he had garrisons. That he should restore to the Romans all prisoners and deserters, and deliver up all his decked ships, except five felucas, and the gally with sixteen benches of oars.

“ That he should pay a thousand talents, half immediately, and the other half in ten years, fifty each year by way of tribute. Amongst the hostages required of him was Demetrius, the youngest of his two sons, who was sent to Rome.”

In this manner did Quintius terminate the Macedonian war, to the great satisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who, entirely conquered as he was, might still find the Romans affairs enough by his intrigues; Antiochus seeing his power considerably augmented by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the name of *The Great*,

\* This word other is placed here, because the Romans intended to keep garrisons in Chalcis, Demetrias and Corinth.

A. R. 556.  
Ant. C. 196.

actually meditated carrying his arms into Europe. If therefore Quintius had not foreseen, thro' his great prudence, what might happen ; that the war with Antiochus might join in the midst of Greece with that on foot against Philip ; and that the two greatest and most powerful Kings then in the world, united in their views and interests, might arm at the same time against Rome, it is certain that it would still be involved in battles and dangers as great, as those which they had lately sustained in the war against Hannibal. But a peculiar providence watched over Rome, and disposed events in a manner conformable to the design it had in respect to that future capitol of the world.

*The Ætolians secretly de- cry this treaty of peace.*

Liv. xxxiii  
31.  
Polyb. ib.  
796.

This treaty of peace, as soon as it was made known, very much satisfied all reasonable persons. Only the Ætolians were discontented with it. They secretly condemned it amongst the allies, saying, “ That it contained only words, and no-  
“ thing more : that the Greeks were amused with  
“ the empty name of liberty, and under that spe-  
“ cious word the Romans covered their self-inte-  
“ rested views. That indeed they left the cities  
“ situated in Asia free ; but that they seemed to  
“ reserve those of Europe to themselves, as Oræ-  
“ um, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, Corinth.  
“ That therefore, to speak properly, Greece was  
“ not delivered from its chains, and at most had  
“ only changed its master.”

These complaints gave the Proconsul the more pain, as they seemed entirely without foundation. The Commissioners, according to the instructions they had received from Rome, advised Quintius to restore liberty to all the Greeks, but to keep the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the keys of Greece, and to put good gar- risons into them, to secure them against Antio-  
chus.



chus. He obtained in the council, that Corinth should have its liberty : but it was resolved, that a garrison should be kept in the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias ; and that only for a time, and till nothing farther were to be feared from the King of Syria.

The \* Isthmian games, which were upon the point of being celebrated, always drew thither a great multitude of people, as well through the inclination, which the Greeks naturally had for those shews, in which the prizes of strength of body and courage, swiftness in the course, and even excellency in all kinds of arts were disputed, as in effect of the facility of repairing to a place, that was equally the port of the two seas. But they flocked thither now in greater numbers than ever, in order to know in their own persons the new form of government, which was going to be given Greece, and for certain what was to be their fate. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely known, were the subject of all conversations ; and people spoke differently of them, most believing that the Romans would not evacuate all the places they had taken.

All the world were in this uncertainty, when, the Romans having taken their places, the herald advanced into the midst of the *Arena* ; and silence being made by the sound of trumpet, he pronounced with a loud voice as follows : THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS, THE GENERAL OF THEIR ARMIES, AFTER HAVING OVERCOME PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, DELIVER FROM ALL GARRISONS

\* We have given an account of these games in the Vth volume of the *Antient History*.

A. R. 556.  
Ant. C. 196.

AND TRIBUTES, THE CORINTHIANS, THE LOCRIANS, THE PHOCÆANS, THE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND OF EUBOEÆ, THE ACHÆANS, \* PHTHIOTES, THE MAGNESIANS, THE THESSALIANS, AND THE PERRHÆBIANS; DECLARE THEM FREE, RESERVE TO THEM ALL THEIR PRIVILEGES, AND ORDAIN, THAT THEY SHALL BE GOVERNED BY THEIR OWN LAWS, AND ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN CUSTOMS.

*The Greeks receive the news of their liberty with incredible transports of joy.*  
Ibid.

On (a) these words, which many heard only by halves, in effect of the noise that interrupted them, all the spectators transported out of their senses, were not capable to contain their joy. They gazed upon one another with surprize, and mutually questioning each other in respect to the articles which related to each state in particular, they could neither believe their eyes nor ears, so much did what they saw and heard appear like a dream. It was necessary for the herald to repeat the same proclamation, which was heard the second time with profound silence, and not a word of the decree lost. Being then fully assured of their good fortune, they again abandoned themselves to their

\* *A people intirely distinct from the Achæan league. Those who composed that league had no occasion to be declared free; for they were so.*

(a) Audita voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quàm quod universum homines caperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse. Alii alios intus-ri mirabundi velut somnii vanam speciem. Quod ad quemque pertineret, suarum aurium fidei minimùm credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus præco, cum unusquis-

que non audire, sed videre libertatis suæ nuntium averet, iterum pronunciate eadem. Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facile appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quàm libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi, nec oculi, spectaculo intenti essent. Adeo unum gaudium præocupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum.

joy

joy with cries so often and so strongly repeated, A. R. 556.  
Ant. C. 196. that the sea at distance resounded with them ; and some ravens which were accidentally flying over the assembly at that instant, fell into the stadium ; and it was then seen, that of all the blessings of life there are none so grateful to mankind as liberty. The celebration of the games was presently over, whilst neither the minds nor eyes of the people were intent upon the shews, no body regarding them ; a single object entirely filling the soul, and leaving no room there for any other pleasures.

When the games were ended, almost the whole multitude ran in a body to the Roman General ; so that every one eagerly pressing to approach their deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hands, and to throw crowns and festoons of flowers at his feet ; his person would have been in some danger, if the vigour of his years (for he was then scarce three and thirty) and the joy of so glorious a day, had not supported and enabled him to go through the fatigue.

And indeed, could there ever have been a day *Reflexions* in human life more agreeable or more glorious than *upon this* this was for Flamininus, and the whole Roman *great* People. What are all the triumphs in the world *event.* in comparison with these cries of joy of an innumerable multitude, and these applauses, which come from the heart, and are the natural effect of a lively and warm gratitude ? Pile up all the trophies, join all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander, and what do they appear when compared with this single action of goodness, humanity and justice ? It is a great misfortune, that Princes are not so sensible as they ought to be to so refined a delight, and so affecting a glory, as that of doing good to mankind.

The



A. R. 556.  
Ant. C. 106.  
Liv. xxxiii  
33.

The (a) remembrance of so glorious a day, and so affecting a beneficence, was renewed from day to day; and during a great length of time nothing else was talked of at meals and entertainments. People said, with transports of admiration, and with a kind of enthusiasm, “ That  
“ there was then a nation in the world; that, at  
“ its own expence and danger, undertook wars to  
“ procure other people repose and liberty, and  
“ that, not for neighbouring States, and those  
“ who could receive aid by land; and that crossed  
“ seas, to prevent unjust sway from subsisting any  
“ where, and to establish the rule of laws, equity,  
“ justice! That by the voice of a single herald,  
“ liberty had been restored to all the cities of  
“ Greece and Asia! That it argued a great soul  
“ only to form such a design: but to put it in  
“ execution, was the effect of the most extraor-  
“ dinary good fortune, and the most consummate  
“ virtue!”

Plut. in  
Flamin.  
375.

They called to mind all the great battles Greece had fought for liberty. “ After having sustained  
“ so many wars, said they, never did its valour  
“ receive so happy a reward, as when strangers  
“ came to fight its battles. For then, almost  
“ without shedding a drop of blood, or a single  
“ tear, she gained the noblest of all prizes, and  
“ the most worthy of being pursued by mankind.

(a) Nec præsens omnium modò effusa lætitia est, sed per multos dies gratis & cogitationibus & sermonibus revocata: esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ suâ impensâ, suo labore ac periculo bella gereret pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ civitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis

præstet: maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, & ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Uno voce præconis libertas omnes Græciæ atque Asiæ urbes. Hoc spe concipere, audacis animi fuisse: ad effectum adducere, virtutis & fortunæ ingentis.

“ Valour

“ Valour and wisdom are rare indeed in all times: A. R. 556.  
Ant. C. 196.  
 “ but of all virtues, the most excellent is justice.  
 “ The Agefilaus’s, the Lyfanders, the Nicias’s,  
 “ the Alcibiades’s, knew how to command ar-  
 “ mies, and gain battles by sea and land: but it  
 “ was for themselves and their countries, not for  
 “ unknown people, for strangers. That glory  
 “ was reserved for the Romans.”

Such were the reflexions made by the Greeks upon so happy an event; and the effect soon answered the glorious proclamation made at the Isthmian games. For the commissioners separated in order to go and cause their decree to be put in execution in all the cities.

Some time after Flamininus, going to Argos, *Quintius* was made president of the Nemæan games. He *visits the* acquitted himself perfectly well in that employ- *several* ment, and forgot nothing that could exalt the *cities of* splendor and magnificence of the festival; and he *Greece.* again caused the liberty of the Greeks to be pub- *Plut. in* lished in these, as he had done in the Isthmian *Flamin.* games by the herald. *375.*

On visiting all the cities, he made wise institutions, reformed abuses in the administration of justice, re-established friendship and concord between the citizens, appeased seditions and quarrels, and caused exiles to return: a thousand times better pleased with being able, by the method of persuasion, to reconcile the Greeks to each other, and to make them live in union together, than he had been with conquering the Macedonians; so that liberty itself seemed one of the least benefits they had received from him. And indeed, what good would liberty have done them, if justice and concord had not been recalled along with it? What a fine model is this for a magistrate, for a governor of a province? And what a blessing is it for a people to have such as *Quintius*!

A. R. 556.  
Ant. C. 156.

It is said, that the Philosopher Xenocrates having been delivered at Athens by the Orator Lycurgus out of the hands of the tax-farmers, who were dragging him to prison to make him pay a tribute, that strangers owed the public treasury, and soon after meeting the sons of his deliverer, he said to them: *I pay your father good interest for the favour he did me: for I am the cause that all the world praises him.* But the gratitude, which the Greeks expressed for Flamininus and the Romans, was not confined to acquiring them praise: it conduced infinitely to the augmentation of their power, by inclining all the world to repose confidence in them, and to rely entirely upon their fidelity. For States were not contented with receiving the Magistrates and Generals they sent into the provinces: they demanded them with passion, they called them in, and put themselves and all their interests into their hands with joy. And not only cities and states, but Princes and Kings themselves, when they had any subjects of complaint against neighbouring Potentates, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their tuition: so that in a short time, in effect of the divine protection (as Plutarch expresses it) the whole earth was subjected to their sway.

*Cornelius, one of the ten commissioners goes from Tempe where he had conferred with King Philip to the city of Thermæ, where the assembly of the Ætolians was held.*  
Liv. xxxiii  
35.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners, had been with Philip, and after having concluded other affairs with that Prince, before he left him, he asked him whether he was in a disposition to hear useful and salutary counsel. The King answering, that, so far from taking it amiss, he should be obliged to him for letting him know any thing essentially for his interests; Cornelius strongly exhorted him, as he had concluded a peace with the Roman people, to send Ambassadors to Rome, to change the treaty of peace into a treaty of alliance and amity. He added, that as  
Antiochus



Antiochus seemed to have designs, he might be suspected, if he did not take his advice, of having waited that Prince's arrival to join him, and begin the war again. Philip thought this very wise counsel, and promised to dispatch Ambassadors immediately to Rome.

Cornelius then repaired from Tempe, where he had conferred with the King to \* Thermæ, where the Ætolians regularly held a general assembly at a certain time. He made a long speech in it to exhort them to persevere firmly in the measures they had taken, and never to depart from the alliance and amity, they had entered into with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but in a modest style, that the Romans, since the victory, did not seem so well disposed to their nation, as they had been before. Others reproached him in rough and injurious terms, that without the Ætolians, the Romans not only would not have overcome Philip, but that they would not so much as have set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to leave no room for disputes and altercations, which always have a bad effect, wisely contented himself with referring them to the Senate, promising them, that they might assure themselves of all possible justice. They chose to do so. Thus ended the war with Philip.

\* *Liwy says Thermopylæ ; but he is mistaken.*

*End of VOL. VI.*

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